

The Emergence of the Bohemian State



Petr Charvát



BRILL

The Emergence of the Bohemian State

East Central and Eastern
Europe in the Middle Ages,
450–1450

General Editor
Florin Curta

VOLUME 13

The Emergence of the Bohemian State

By
Petr Charvát



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2010

Cover illustration: St. Wenceslas' Helmet. With kind permission of the Treasury of the St. Vitus Cathedral at the Prague Castle. © The Prague Castle Administration. © Photograph by Jan Gloc.

Koninklijke Brill NV has made all reasonable efforts to trace all rights holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyright holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Charvát, Petr.

The emergence of the Bohemian state / by Petr Charvat.

p. cm. -- (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, ISSN 1872-8103 ; v. 13)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-18009-3 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Bohemia (Czech Republic)--History--To 1526. I. Title. II. Series.

DB2081.C53 2010

943.71'021--dc22

2010024058

ISSN 1872-8103

ISBN 978 90 04 18009 3

Copyright 2010 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

CONTENTS

Foreword	vii
List of Illustrations	xi
List of Color Illustrations	xvii
Chapter 1. The Seventh-Century: Before The Gates of Europe	1
Chapter 2. The Eighth-Century: Let This Be Our Homeland	55
Chapter 3. The Ninth-Century: From Here to Eternity?	93
Chapter 4. The 'Long Tenth-Century': The Point of No Return	137
Postscript	207
Reference List of Sources and Literature for Further Study.....	209
Register	229

FOREWORD

The emergence of state, and the earliest history of statehood, is a topic of research to which I have dedicated my entire professional life. The fact is, nonetheless, that my efforts have long been concentrated on a quite different aspect of the history of humankind – that of the emergence of cuneiform civilization in the ancient Orient, specifically southwestern Asia.

There is a Czech proverb which says that ‘blood is not water’. My study of the beginnings of literate history led me to deliberate upon what was happening at this time in my own homeland, now the Czech Republic, comprising what was once the medieval duchy, and then kingdom, of Bohemia. The temptation to publicly state my views on the subject grew stronger and stronger as I heeded the famous words of Martin Buber: ‘If you have found out something, you should find the courage to say it aloud.’

At this time, I was contacted by Messrs. Břetislav Daněk and Filip Outrata, editors of the Vyšehrad publishing house in Prague, who asked me whether I would like to write a book about the emergence of the state of Bohemia. Having enjoyed working with them during the publication of my earlier book on Duke Boleslav II, I hesitated only briefly. The decision to put my long-held thoughts into writing was made.

After the publication of my book in the Czech language, I had the honor of meeting Florin Curta, of the University of North Florida, when he visited this country on a research tour in 2007. Although we had met before in the U. S. A. in 2005, it was during his visit to the Czech Republic that we had more time to discuss the problems involved in studying the early medieval history of this part of Europe. I was greatly impressed by his breadth of vision, his deep appreciation of historical problems, and especially by his profound understanding of the role of archeology in such undertakings.

It was Florin who suggested that the Brill publishing house be approached with regard to translating my book into English. There, the matter fell into the capable hands of Mr. Julian Deahl and Ms. Marcella Mulder, and so it was that this new edition of my earlier book, incorporating results of my work since 2007, came into being.

This is the product that I now present to my esteemed readers, and I sincerely hope that the time you spend perusing my work will be considered well-spent.

Works of this kind, evolving over decades of research and deliberation, make it rather difficult to ascribe the origin of particular ideas to definite moments in time, or even to people who might have inspired them. I will thus acknowledge here all the friends, colleagues and partners to whom I feel in any way indebted in the writing of this book.

I conducted most of my research in two Institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and, since 1993, the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic – Archeological and Oriental. I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to my masters and tutors at the Archeological Institute who instilled in me the essentials of the discipline of archeology, and its relation to history – Messrs. Zdeněk Smetánka and Miroslav Richter. I profited greatly from discussions with my learned friends and colleagues Martin Tomášek, Jan Frolík, Nad'a Profantová, Kateřina Tomková, Petra Maříková-Vlčková and Jan Mařík.

At the Oriental Institute, I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to my learned friends and colleagues Jiří Prosecký, the late Blahoslav Hruška, and Jan Filipský. For technical assistance with the preparation of the manuscript I am obliged to my learned friend and colleague, L'ubica Obuchová.

The years that I spent at my *alma mater*, Charles University in Prague, are equally valued. I trained in its Philosophical Faculty, and have long been active in its Faculty of Education. I am grateful to my masters and tutors Jiří Sláma, Miroslav Buchvaldek, Jan Filip, Lubor Matouš, Vladimír Souček and František Graus, the greatest influences of my student years. I greatly appreciate the continued help and inspiration of my learned friends and colleagues Kateřina Charvátová, Jan Klápště, Petr Čornej, Jana Kepartová, Alena Míšková, Lenka Bobková, Jan Zdichynec, Martin Bažil and Petr Kubín.

I learned a lot from those who, like me, study Bohemian history, whether at the Historical Institute of our Academy of Sciences, or at the newly established Center for Medieval Studies (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and Charles University, Prague). I am grateful to Petr Sommer, František Šmahel, the late Dušan Třeštík, Josef Žemlička, David Kalhous and Dana Dvořáčková-Malá.

I have always profited greatly from my contacts, connections and interactions with the Masaryk University at Brno, Moravia.

I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Vladimír Podborský, Zdeněk Měřinský, Jiří Macháček, Inna Mateiciucová and Šimon Ungermann from that Institution.

I also acknowledge and appreciate the kindly help and cooperation of my learned friends and colleagues abroad. These include the above mentioned Florin Curta of the University of North Florida, and Touraj Daryayee of the University of California at Irvine, California, U. S. A. Other colleagues who assisted in various ways and should be thanked here are Patrick Périn of the National Museum of Antiquities at St.-Germain-en-Laye in France, Gabriel Martinez-Gros of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, France, and Sophie Makariou of the Musée du Louvre also in Paris, France.

A research undertaking of this type must necessarily depend on the generous support of sponsoring bodies both at home and abroad. In 2003–2004, I had the good fortune to be able to spend a year at the University Museum of Archeology and Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, U. S. A., as a Fulbright grantee (John William Fulbright Foundation, Prague office, grant no. 2003-28-02). In the following year, I could return to this Institution (which, owing to the kindness and amiability of my colleagues there, I came to adopt as ‘mine’) thanks to a research grant from the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia (2005 Franklin Grant). I also received assistance from the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic at Prague (grant no. A8021401), and from the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic (grant 404/08/J013). I am most grateful to these Institutions for their support of my research.

In 2008, I could tackle a whole series of problems relating to the topics included in this book thanks to a sojourn at the Université de Paris - Pantéon-Sorbonne (Paris IV), and also at the Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris, France. I am most grateful to my learned friend and colleague Ludvik Kalus of both the above mentioned Institutions for his kind assistance in all matters connected with my stay in Paris. The present work constitutes a research output of a grant project of the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague No. IAA 8000 20804.

It goes without saying that in acknowledging my debts of gratitude to all those who have helped me, I wish to point out that all the errors and inconsistencies in this book are mine alone.

Those who probably paid the highest price for this book are members of my own family. I feel a great debt of gratitude towards Kateřina Charvátová, my wife, lifelong companion and colleague, to my sons Jan and Ondřej, and to my daughters-in-law Lenka and Eva. Antonín (Anthony), our first grandson, has recalled for us the long forgotten joys of parenthood. To them all I give my heartfelt thanks, and beg their forgiveness if, absorbed too much with early medieval problems, I neglected any important message that they had for me.

Prague, June 2009

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

01: A gold ring found at Čáslav-Hrádek, Bohemia. Made in Italy or the Rhineland sometime between the end of the sixth and the end of the seventh-century, lost at Hrádek in the early ninth-century (Charvát 1997a, 24 Fig. 1).

02: The Emperor Constantine rewarded those who had helped him to the throne by giving them rings with the inscription FIDEM CONSTANTINO ('fidelity to Constantine'). Did the king of the Alamanni, Crocus, possibly Krok of the ancient sagas of Bohemia, also wear one? (Fuchs 1997, 119).

03: The sixth to seventh-century settlement site of Roztoky near Prague included this house, No. 926. A series of curving post-hole lines in the corner opposite the stone-built kiln may represent traces of an ancient sleeping platform (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, 409 Fig. 159).

04: A bone handle found in feature 449 at Roztoky (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, 469 Fig. 219: 8).

05: The compositional principle of the Roztoky bone handle decoration is the same as that of this gilt silver belt chape (strap-end mount), dating to around 530. It was discovered in the grave of an Alamannic lady of rank at the site of Schwenningen in southwestern Germany. In this manner, the earliest medieval culture of Bohemia shows signs of the influences to which it was exposed (Fuchs 1997, 299–300).

06: A bone comb from Roztoky (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, 484 Fig. 234: 7).

07: This map shows the diffusion of bone combs throughout sixth to seventh-century Bohemia. In their original homeland, Slavs did not use such items; they became familiar with them only after they had settled down in regions where bone combs were used. The map thus exposes the particular zone of contact between the newcomers and the resident population – in other words, it documents the region in which the earliest BOHEMI are to be sought (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, 195 Fig. 80).

- 08: Finds from a Migration-period grave at Roztoky (possibly sixth-century). Point of a Frankish angon on the left (Píč 1909, 38).
- 09: This carving of a horseman comes from a rock relief showing the enthronement of the Sasanian ruler Khusrau II Aparviz (590–628) at Taq-i Bostan by present-day Kermanshah, Iran. The dignitary wears a robe of luxury cloth, displaying medallions depicting animals, and a nomad-type waist-belt with hanging straps, set with their own chapes (strap-end mounts). This is how the Avar kaganate elite probably dressed.
- 10: This portrait of a Sasanian queen is probably representative of the appearance of the earliest medieval elites of Bohemia. The type of earrings worn by the queen have been discovered in Bohemia and Moravia: Měřínský 2002, 525, middle of the lowest row (Lukonin 1979, 154 Fig. 28).
- 11: This portrayal of Samo, the Frankish merchant, by the Bohemian painter Mikoláš Aleš (1852–1913) owes much to nineteenth-century ideas about the national past. The dignitary wears a Balkan style of dress, with a pendant around his neck which has proved to be a Hallstatt-age brooch of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. Samo's staff of office has been modeled on a pendant found at the Býčí-Skála cave in the Moravian Karst region, and dates from the sixth pre-Christian century. However Samo might have looked, this depiction is probably not particularly historically accurate (Sklenář 2003, 269).
- 12: This is what an eighth-century barrow cemetery may have looked like; the site is Kožlí by Orlík (Lutovský 1996a).
- 13: Two crematory urns, as excavated in a sixth to eighth-century cemetery at Přítluky by Břeclav (Měřínský 2002, 100).
- 14: Amphorae with ridges, probably originally brought into Bohemia by Frisian merchants as Rhenish wine containers from the end of the eighth to the tenth-century (Profantová 2000, 652 Fig. 4).
- 15: Exquisite gold Avar belt accessories, from a hoard find discovered at Vrap, Albania (Swoboda 1991, 598, Fig. 377).
- 16: Dolní-Dunajovice, Moravia, grave No. 7. This person was buried with a splendid nomad-type waist-belt; its position on the body, indicated by its metal accessories, was revealed by meticulous excavation procedure. (Měřínský 2002, 349).

17: Hooked spurs from eighth-century layers at the site of Mikulčice, Moravia (Měřínský 2002, 256).

18: These horse-harness decorations (*phalerae*) from eighth-century Mikulčice, Moravia, clearly show the warrior ethos of the period, depicting lions, wolves and dogs baring their teeth in a menacing manner (Měřínský 2002, 458).

19: A sample of luxury gold tableware found at Sănnicolau Mare (one-time Nagyszentmiklós), Romania, from the late eighth-century (Böhner-Ellmers-Weidemann 1970, p. 173).

20: Meticulous excavation of this Polish cremation-rite funerary barrow revealed vestiges of the pyre on which the body was burned (Zoll-Adamikowa 1982, 89 Abb. 1).

21a: A large chape (strap-end mount) from Pohořelice, Moravia, most probably of eighth-century origin (Profantová 1992, Taf. 33 : B).

21b: A belt mount depicting fights between a dragon and a reptile, and with a pendant showing a human head emanating rays of light, most probably a likeness of the Iranian deity Mihr (Mithra) from the hill-fort of Kal, in the district of Jičín (Profantová-Kalferst 1999, 321, Fig. 4 : 5).

21c and d: Bohemian and Moravian iconography of the eighth and ninth-century finds parallels in seal impressions from the late Sasanian and post-Sasanian site of Qasr-i Abu Nasr. These include a depiction of a bird with Sasanian royal ribbons (*pativa*) around its neck (Frye 1973, No. 39), and also a composition of a plant motif flanked by two birds (Frye 1973, No. 328). Both motifs may be combined in the image borne by a chape from Mikulčice, shown in Figure 23 on page 91.

22: The image of Kal seems to have been inspired by icons of Mihr (Mithra), on his heavenly chariot and emanating rays of light, such as this one from the Akdepe site, Turkmenistan (Gubaev-Loginov-Nikitin 1996, Pl. XIV : 1.3).

23: An eighth-century chape (strap-end mount) from Mikulčice. Two birds, displaying the Sasanian royal ribbons (*pativa*), flank the central plant motif (Měřínský 2002, 249).

24: This is one of the pages of a book listing several thousand ninth-century benefactors of the Benedictine abbey of Reichenau, to whose memory the monks dedicated their prayers and services (Zentralbibliothk Zürich, Ms. Rh. hist. 27). Among them, this is the only entry written in

Greek script by a practiced hand and giving six personal names: Methodios, Leon, Ignatios, Ioakin, Symeon and perhaps the Slavic name of Dragais. Does the entry commemorate the sojourn of Methodius, archbishop of Sirmium and Moravia, who stayed in an unidentified imperial monastery in 870–873?

25: A waist-belt clasp and its chape (strap-end mount) from ninth to tenth-century graves at Kouřim (Šolle 1984, 151 Fig. 62).

26: A sample of objects found in an elite double interment at Kolín-nad-Labem, dating from the second half of the ninth-century (Lutovský 1996b).

27: Part of the funerary accouterments of a lady of rank buried under a funerary barrow at Želénky near Duchcov, Bohemia (Bláhová-Frolík-Profantová 1999, 227).

28: This western Frankish coin, minted at Melle, Aquitania, between the years 845 and 850, turned up at the hill-fort of Praha-Šárka (Sláma 1988, 59 Fig. 23).

29. A reconstruction of Prague Castle in the early tenth-century. Numbers denote Christian churches: 1 – Virgin Mary; 2 – St. Guy; 3 – St. George. Saint George's nunnery bears the number 6. The elite residences shown are the bishop's house (No. 4) and the ducal palace (No. 5). The Žiži hillock, where we presume offerings were made, was situated on the top of a rocky outcrop between the bishop's house (No. 4) and St. Guy's church (No. 2). The ducal stone throne, the ancient *columna mundi*, is most probably to be sought close to the ducal palace (No. 5) (Frolík 2000).

30: An air view of the Kouřim (Stará-Kouřim) hill-fort (Kolínsko 17).

31: This is an early ninth-century loop-shaped sword-belt accessory from Čáslav, which also depicts a fight between a dragon and a reptile as a symbol of the conflict between good and evil (Profantová 1991, 37 Fig. 1: 1).

32: Main types of female jewelery of ninth to tenth-century Bohemia (Šolle 1984, 180 Fig. 85).

33: A number of early ninth-century belt mounts bear the motif of a ridge with dense parallel incisions, perpendicular to the longer axis of the mount. The examples shown here were found at Žinkovy, Bohemia, Pohansko by Břeclav, Moravia, and Libice-nad-Cidlinou, Bohemia

(upper row, from left to right). Related examples have turned up at the Hungarian sites of Szegvar and Hajdudorog (lower row, also from left to right) (Charvát 2000, 136 Fig. 8 a 9).

34: The motif of ridges with dense parallel incisions, perpendicular to the longer axis of the mount, have turned up among northern Iranian finds from sites referred to as 'Amlash' (Charvát 2000, 137 Fig. 10).

35: A bronze likeness of the crucified Christ from the church of the Virgin Mary at Prague Castle. Southern Germany or the Rhineland, late tenth-century (Kubková 1997, 403 Fig. 1a).

36: A Bohemian lead coin (?) with the inscriptions VACLAV CNIZ and PRAGA CIVITA, found in a tenth-century context in the central part of a castle at Kazan'(Staraya Kazan') (Numismatické listy 1999/4, p. 107, Fig. 3).

37: Slave shackles from the vicinity of Verdun (Mourat 2001, 280).

38: Vojtěch or Adalbert, the second bishop of Prague, reproaches Duke Boleslav II for the sale of Christian slaves to non-Christians. Bronze door of the Gniezno cathedral, Poland, dating to the 1170s and possibly originating from a workshop in the Lower Rhineland.

39: A map of Bohemia before 930 by Jiří Sláma. The original Přemyslid realms in central Bohemia are indicated by crossed lines. Dark dots denote major fortifications in the rest of Bohemia (Sláma 1988, 81 Fig. 29).

40: A map of early medieval Bohemia by Jiří Sláma. Dark squares with toponyms show centers of Přemyslid castle administration, the establishment of which is assumed to have been initiated by Boleslav I (935–972). Small, dark dots in their vicinity indicate earlier fortifications, which were presumably deserted when the new Přemyslid centers were built (Sláma 1988, 83 Fig. 30).

41: We know virtually nothing about the emergence of the Jewish community in Bohemia. Yet the inhabitants of Prague, and later on, of other major sites in Bohemia, must have come into contact with people like this gentleman, whose face was carved in stone by a Greek or Roman artist, possibly in the tenth-century (Beazley 2002, No. 97, p. 63 and Pl. 20).

42: The assumed route of Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub's voyage through Europe (Třeštík 1992, 11).

43. A gold ring bearing an image of the Roman goddess Victory, and with an inscription in Hebrew characters (*Moshe ben Shelomo*). Eleventh to thirteenth-century. Excavated at Praha 1, Náměstí-Republiky. Drawing by Věra Tydlitátová (after Zavřel-Žegklitz 2007, 7).
- 44: Dating from before 995, these vestiges of an inscription (or inscriptions) from Libice-nad-Cidlinou in Bohemia were originally interpreted as belonging to a tombstone. They are, however, more likely to represent the remains of a church inscription, perhaps of a dedicatory character (Turek 1982, 139, Figs. 46 and 47).
- 45: A coin struck by Emma, dowager queen, at Mělník, Bohemia, before 1006 (Sláma 1988, 44 Fig. 17).
- 46: The title page of the Latin manuscript of a St. Wenceslas legend written by Gumpold, bishop of Mantua. The saint, crowned by God, is revered by Emma, *principissa Bohemie*, who performs a deep bow (*proskynesis*) before him. Probably between 990 and 999. Wolfenbüttel (Germany), Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 11.2., Aug., f. 18 v. (Polanský 2001, 43–44).
- 47: An engraved reproduction of the illustration to psalm 66 from the psalter that belonged to Emma, queen of France, originally deposited at the library of St. Remi, Rheims, France. Probably 979–986 (Crivello 2001, Fig. 15 between pp. 192 and 193).
- 48: An ivory carving depicting Christ crowning Emperor Otto II and his consort, Theophano. A tiny figure is shown in a deep *proskynesis* at the feet of the emperor. Probably 982–983, Musée National du Moyen Age et des Thermes de l'Hôtel de Cluny, Paris, Cl. 392 (Little 1997, 500).
- 49: Eleventh to twelfth-century fortifications guarding the Moravian-Austrian border along the Dyje (Thaya) river. The situation of these forts is striking. At least some of them date from the time of Břetislav I (1034–1055), possibly even from his Moravian governorate. They thus constitute an early example of deliberate strategical design to protect the frontiers of the duchy (Peška-Unger 1993, 145 Abb. 7).

LIST OF COLOR ILLUSTRATIONS

01: A page from the *Notitia dignitatum*, a late Roman list of army detachments, command offices and the supporting logistical apparatus of the imperial army. Early fifth-century A. D. The second emblem from the left in the uppermost row belongs to the *Marcomanni* (L'Or des Princes Barbares p. 24, fol. 115).

02: A statue of a warrior dated to 550–577 A.D.. Hebei Regional Museum, China. An authentic depiction of a nomad warrior, evoking the appearance of the Avars as they came to eastern Europe (Hebei, Pl. 56).

03: The so-called Dagobert's throne, a Roman seat of office (*sella curulis*) with ninth-century additions (Périn-Feffer 1985, 81, Pl. 2).

04: A saddle-cloth showing a pheasant with a Sasanian royal ribbon (*pativa*) around its neck. Central Asia, most probably Sogd, eighth or ninth-century. Eastern motifs probably came to Bohemia and Moravia by means of such carriers (Otavsky 1998, 16 Abb. 2).

05: A hind-shaped luxury vessel for hand-washing (aquamanile). Muslim Cordoba, tenth-century. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid Inv. No. 51856.

06: The title page of St. Matthew's Gospel, most probably showing the four evangelists. Book of Deer, tenth to twelfth-century. Originally in the library of John Moore, bishop of Ely (+ 1714). Purchased and donated to Cambridge University by King George I. Cambridge University Library, MS. Ii.6.32, fol. 1v. We must not forget that the exquisite medieval manuscripts being exhibited throughout Europe were by no means the only products of early medieval scribal art. It may be that many a newly converted European Christian took advice and counsel from books of this character.

07: A set of jewelry found in one of the richest interments at Libice-nad-Cidlinou, Bohemia. Church cemetery, before 1050, probably tenth-century. Spherical silver buttons (*gombíky*) with granulation crosses and a kaptorga locket decorated with horse figures, all with granulated patterns, are accompanied by amber and carnelian beads.

08: St. Helen's crypt in the Church of Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem. After a 1839 lithography by David Roberts. From the tenth-century, the holy city of Jerusalem, where Jesus Christ lived and taught during his earthly life, was a center of pilgrimage for many European Christians, including Bohemians from at least the eleventh-century.

CHAPTER 1

THE SEVENTH-CENTURY: BEFORE THE GATES OF EUROPE

‘Look, you have cast out Love!
What Gods are these
You bid me please?
The Three in One, the One in Three? Not so!
To my own gods I go.
It may be they shall give me greater ease
Than your cold Christ and tangled Trinities.’

All of us instinctively desire that we – natives of our homelands, whatever name these may bear – can claim to have lived in the countries of our birth from time immemorial, from the moment ‘when it all began.’ Needless to say, such an assumption is understandable, but its truth cannot be established. Of course, the population of Europe, which has grown first at a natural and later at an industrial pace, has not experienced any serious collapse or large-scale transformations since prehistoric times. On the other hand, it would be hard to claim that sheer weight of numbers says very much. The key act in self-identification by social bodies in Europe was always those claims made by its elites, whatever their origins – often they lay outside – which the non-elites viewed as most persuasive. It was men and women of standing, respect and consequence who focused the hearts, minds and consciences of whatever social group acknowledged them by rallying behind those who gave them a new, ethnic, social, and ultimately national, identity. This happened regardless of whether such elites were of domestic or foreign origin. It was social agents that built new nations; and linguistic affiliations, biological kinship, a common gene pool did not. Indeed, even blood ties wither, grow old and decrepit and lose vitality, if they are not reinvigorated by other factors that frequently come from outside.

It has been observed that areas that are culturally homogenous frequently mask a surprising heterogeneity in the biological substrate of their populations. Again, we should note that it is an underlying cultural pattern, maintained above all by an (elite) language and religion, which makes identities and nations survive. Let us examine how an ethnic community – and this, if we wish, can include many nations – is defined

by modern science¹. Five criteria are of relevance here: a) a common name; b) a shared myth of common origin; c) a shared acknowledgment of a commonly experienced historical past; d) common territory, and e) shared characteristics of a social body displaying a particular and unique culture without parallels elsewhere. In this way, the key factors that determine ethnicity – i.e. that answer the questions: who are we, who do we want to be, and do not want to be? – are not biological. We would do well to bear this in mind.

What then, in practice, is Slavdom and Slavinity? Instinctively we all know the answer, though the notions have been disputed throughout the centuries. Yet any attempt at a definition must necessarily fail. Slavinity cannot be defined by the tools of physical anthropology, by geographical analysis, by material features of the environment in which Slavs live, by social structures or by any particular form of spirituality. The only feature that Slavs do definitely have in common is language, or, in later ages, a set of languages. Slavdom is thus defined by the sharing of a common Indo-European language over a fairly long historical period, beginning perhaps somewhere in the murk of prehistory, possibly in the first centuries A.D., and probably before the fourth-century A.D.².

Let us start this historical investigation by borrowing a set of terms from philosophy. Slavdom had been pouring forth from somewhere in eastern Europe from (at least) the fourth post-Christian century, like Aristotle's notion of matter, an unformed component of the human race. However, wherever they ended up, Slavs adopted the very different economic habits, social norms, manners and customs of the local communities they encountered *en route* or in their new abodes. Thus the initially undifferentiated 'matter' of the Slavic-speaking mass gradually crystallized into a number of forms or configurations of social life according to the conditions prevailing in their new homelands. From the very beginning, Slav society showed a surprising degree of adaptability, flexibility, and an ability to adopt models from their host communities, and to employ these to their own advantage.

The primeval motherland of the Slavs, which they left to occupy their present homes, is now thought to be in one of two regions of eastern Europe. In both cases, one of the basic arguments for thinking so is

¹ More on this cf. Romeny 2005.

² On the linguistic affiliation of Slavic cf. now Rehder 1998.

based on the names of waterways, which have usually survived from very early times. The most ancient set of Slavic river names has been documented northeast of the lower foothills of the Carpathian mountains, where Byelorussia is now situated, in the wetlands of the Pripyat marshes. This led specialists to assume that this area was the cradle of the Slavs, from which they migrated to occupy their present abodes³.

This theory was cast in doubt by a Russian philologist, Oleg Trubachev. With perfect logic, he argued that if a group of people gives linguistically coherent names to waterways, it is itself no longer *in statu nascendi*, but constitutes a well-formed and mature social group, with its own developed language, manners and customs. Slavs thus came to the Pripyat marshes as an already established and structured body of people, and it is not necessary to assume that they developed in this location. Instead, Trubachev refers to reports by Greek and Roman authors which indicate a fairly wide area somewhere along the middle or lower Danube, say from southern Hungary across Serbia towards the Rumanian-Bulgarian Danube basin, possibly as far as the northern Pontic region⁴.

Such an assumption finds support in the analysis of non-Slavic loanwords in the earliest forms of Slavic language. Philologists assert that the very earliest stage of Slavic that can be reconstructed contains borrowings from the Baltic, Celtic, Germanic (especially Gothic) languages, as well as from Iranian dialects spoken by nomadic groups which inhabited an extensive steppe area starting in the Pontic area and extending eastwards through the Inner Asian steppes and deserts as far as Mongolia and the western borderlands of China. Insofar as this data provides evidence about the geographical range of the primitive Slavs, it rather indicates that they emerged somewhere in the southeast where contacts with Iranian-speaking nomads could be maintained. Two aspects of the situation seem to be worth considering: first, it seems that the earliest borrowings *from* Slavic are to be found in the language of the Dacians, who lived on the lower Danube in present-day Rumania, in as early as the first century A.D. Second, links to Gothic point to an area of contact somewhere in the Pontic area, where Goths dwelt from the first centuries after Christ.

Such questions are not only grist to the mill of stuffy academics. Answering them can give us valuable evidence to indicate the routes by

³ This theme has recently been tackled by Třeštík 1997 (with a bibliography on the theme).

⁴ Cf. Trubačev 1982.

which Slavs came to Bohemia-Moravia. Hitherto, the northeast seemed to be the Slav gateway to the Czech lands, if one assumes that from their motherland in the Pripjat region Slavic groups would have advanced northwest along the lower foothills of the Carpathian mountains, trickling into central Europe by means of accessible mountain passes. Trubachev's theory can, however, provide an alternative solution by directing our attention towards the southeast, to regions beyond the Danube and along this major river. We could imagine the earliest ancestors of the Czechs cautiously advancing into southwestern Slovakia and southernmost Moravia, and then penetrating across the Bohemian-Moravian highlands into the plains and wooded hills of inner Bohemia.

How do we determine the date of arrival of the first Slavs into Bohemia and Moravia? This is one of the knottiest problems of historical research, a stalking horse of many a theory which ultimately proved to be false. The basic time frame does not raise doubts. Longobard (Lombard) settlement of Moravia, Austria and Slovakia is likely to have lasted until 568 A.D., when King Alboin led his people to better fortune in Italy. As for Slavs, they appeared in Pannonia before 550, where at least some of them adopted Christianity⁵. At the end of the sixth-century, Bavarians were having to confront the advancing Slavs in battle; meanwhile, Austria seems to have remained empty, having been re-occupied by Slav invaders, perhaps after the emergence of the early state of Samo the Frankish merchant, only after 630⁶. The first Slavic establishments in southern Poland then date probably to the first half of the seventh-century⁷. (At least some) Slavs must then have come to the Czech lands in the period from before 550 to, say, 650, or rather 600 A.D. We can, however, say little more than this.

To give an idea how such an event can occur, consider an account of the advent of the Goths in Italy:

'Goth' at the outset denoted soldiers who arrived in Italy in 489. The first Italian Goths constituted an army. They were probably not very numerous, perhaps 20,000 people at most (although all figures are guesses), and certainly a mere fraction of the population of Italy. This army had picked up recruits in both the Pannonian and Italian provinces. It absorbed the remnants of Odoacer's army. It contained groups with 'non-Gothic' labels,

⁵ According to an inscription left by St. Martin of Braga (+ 579): Ferreiro 1995, and now also Charvát 2007.

⁶ Stadler 2003.

⁷ Poleski 1997, esp. pp. 15–016.

such as the Rugians and the Gepids. Wolfram's assertion that the army was 'polyethnic' (that is, diverse) upon its arrival must stand. It was a motley crew, and any study of Gothic ethnicity or ethnogenesis in Italy must assume that the Goths did not arrive as an army already cohering to a single, overwhelming ethnic identity. ...

We do not know how many civilians there were with Theoderic: some wives and families, as well as secretaries (such as Theoderic's Greek-named secretary in the Balkans in the 470s, Phocas; it may be significant that no wives or families are attested by name in any source), priests (Arian or Catholic), and slaves, just as in late Roman regiments.

(Amory 1997, 40–41).

BOHEMI

Our search for the beginnings of the Bohemian nation must take into account one crucial fact: upon their departure for Italy, the Longobards were accompanied by a group or groups of people who called themselves 'Bohemi'. This proves beyond all doubt that even before the arrival of Slavs *en masse*, the territory of the western province of the present-day Czech republic was host to an elite group which referred to itself by a name apparently taken from the land it inhabited⁸.

From now on I shall be writing the ethnic name BOHEMI in capital letters. Specialists in philology resort to this when they know the general meaning of a certain word, but do not know how exactly this word was pronounced in a given period. Let me give you an example: most Europeans will instantly recognize a word of Latin origin, say, 'imperium'. But an inhabitant of Finland would very likely pronounce it in a very different fashion than, for instance, a person born in Greece. Or take numbers: all passing motorists will understand what is meant by a white circular disc with red outer rim and a big black number '60' standing by the roadside, whatever their nationality or language. But, of course, if you ask them to explain its meaning in words, they would use very different idioms.

This is exactly the trouble with the ethnonym 'BOHEMI'. We know that throughout the early Middle Ages, it referred – in sources written in Latin – to the inhabitants of a land called Bohemia in central Europe. What the people who settled in the plains and highlands of Bohemia

⁸ Menghin 1985, 187, a map of place-names documenting North Italian ethnonyms likely to be linked to the arrival of Longobards to Italy, including the name 'Boemo'. On Longobards see now Hegewisch 2008.

called themselves in their own vernacular language is a mystery. In short, one of the most difficult problems of historical research is to identify the moment when the BOHEMI became Czechs.

In theory, we may imagine two scenarios for the emergence of the BOHEMI. A most persuasive model for the emergence of early medieval 'ethnicities' via non-Roman social groups serving in the armed forces of the Roman empire was introduced some time ago⁹.

The other possible course for the entry of the BOHEMI into history is the conscious and deliberate acceptance of a new identity by segments and splinters of various tribal groups – chiefly Germanic, but possibly of other stock - who may have settled in the modern Czech territories in the fifth and sixth centuries. In this case, members of almost any group – referred by contemporary sources as being in that part of Europe might have participated in the creation of a new anthropo-geographical body (Alamannus, Saxo, Toringus, Pannonius, Rugus, Sclavus, Nara, Sarmata, Datus, Ostrogothus, Francus, Burgundio, Dacus, Alanus). (Fig. 01)

BOHEMI and the Roman Army?

Such a connection does, indeed, seem absolutely out of place here. But let us consider the essential features of a model for the emergence of



Figure 01: A gold ring found at Čáslav-Hrádek, Bohemia. Made in Italy or the Rhineland sometime between the end of the sixth and the end of the seventh-century, lost at Hrádek in the early ninth-century (Charvát 1997a, 24 Fig. 1).

⁹ References to the relevant literature, especially to works by Herwig Wolfram and Reinhard Wenskus, may be found in Amory 1997.

early states, recently presented by various European and North American scholars. This model envisages the social process in question as consisting of four steps:

- 1) A leader demonstrating not only military prowess but also strategic talent and management ability, emerges in some organized grouping using a Germanic language.
- 2) Entering into service with the Roman army, such a leader becomes a high-ranking officer appointed to command his people. The Roman army accepted non-Roman volunteers from the fourth-century onwards, and from the fifth-century onwards, its serving units were organized on an 'ethnic' basis.
- 3) The leader in question uses his Roman military rank to establish himself as the king of his people.
- 4) Finally, a nascent social body, composed of the king, his retinue and his followers, provides and generally accepts a narrative concerning its origins. This usually happened as a consequence of the activities of thinkers and wise men accompanying the king. In most cases, such ideological constructs relied heavily on the legitimacy conferred on indigenous leaders by the Roman army, and thereby by the Roman empire. In other cases the newcomers borrowed Greek and Roman myths and built their identity, and legitimacy, on them, as, for instance, the Britons on Brutus¹⁰.

Though it has been the object of some recent criticism, this model can help us a long way to understanding what was happening in early social groups whose leaders-in-being marshaled all available resources to achieve positions of importance, to retain them and, if possible, to pass them on to their successors in office.

A case in point that almost instantly springs to mind is the story of Fritigil, queen of the Marcomanni, then resident in Bohemia, her unnamed husband and king, and their retinue. This was documented by Paulinus, biographer of Saint Ambrose of Milan, the other actor in the event¹¹. Having heard news of Christianity, Fritigil sent an envoy to St. Ambrose asking for instruction in this new faith. The holy man answered favorably and requested the queen either to come to him personally, or to send another messenger with whom a Christian priest, to

¹⁰ On this question cf. now Plassmann 2006.

¹¹ Mathisen 1997, 667.

expound the doctrine of Jesus Christ, could return to the Marcomanni. Unfortunately, this second ambassador arrived in Milan only to be informed that the saintly Bishop Ambrose had just died. This fact puts the story at around 397 A.D., the year of St. Ambrose's death. Upon this, the king and queen of the Marcomanni decided to enter Roman territory and to accept service in the army. They were stationed on the Pannonian frontier of the empire.

In this connection it seems logical to suppose that the Marcomanni entered Roman military service as a coherent group, presumably retaining their name in that of a unit of the Roman army. If this was the case it may be possible to find them in the gazetteer of Roman military installations, personnel and facilities of the early fifth-century, known as *Notitia dignitatum*¹².

Upon inspection, we find that the Marcomanni can be found in the *Notitia* in several places. Section V of the text, referring to units of the Western empire commanded by the *magister peditum*, has *Marcomanni seniores* and *Marcomanni iuniores*, stationed in Italy and wearing an emblem of a bifurcate, pitchfork-like object set on a pole¹³. Section VI lists them, again in the West, also in Italy, commanded by a *magister equitum*, and wearing an *ouroboros* emblem¹⁴. Provincial units include detachments of Marcomanni as *auxilia palatina intra Italiam*¹⁵, and *equites Marcomanni* as *comitia intra Africam*¹⁶. Section XXXIV of the document refers then to a rank of *tribunus gentis Marcomannorum*, subordinated to the *Dux Panonniae primae et Norici ripensis*¹⁷.

We even find the Quadi, a sister tribe of the Marcomanni settled possibly to the east of them in central Europe. Section XXXI of the *Notitia* shows them to have been stationed in the Eastern empire, namely in Egypt, under the command of the *dux Thebaides*, and occupying an *Oasis minor*, holding it against the Trimtheos or Terenutheos, a long way indeed from home¹⁸.

It thus seems logical to suppose that at their original point of entry to the empire, Pannonia, the Marcomanni received military training, and,

¹² Text edited by Otto Seeck (1876); recently, the *Notitia* has been extensively commented upon by French specialists (in *L'Or des Princes Barbares*).

¹³ Seeck 1876, 117, Nos. 49 and 50, and 123, Nos. 198 and 199.

¹⁴ Seeck 1876, 129 No. 22.

¹⁵ Seeck 1876, 134 No. 38.

¹⁶ Seeck 1876, 131, and 141 No.183.

¹⁷ Seeck 1876,197 No. 24.

¹⁸ Seeck 1876, 65 No. 56.

while some of them remained there, others were transferred to garrisons in Italy and even in Africa.

It is of some significance for the subsequent history of the Czech lands that the *Notitia dignitatum* contains no references to a military corps called *Bohemi*. This name, denoting inhabitants of a country called Bohemia, presumably did not thus emerge as a designation of a unit of the Roman army, and its origins will have to be sought elsewhere. Theoretically, we could argue that even then, they could have served as Roman soldiers. Insofar as we possess more detailed evidence for the composition of Roman army detachments, units bearing ethnic names invariably included individuals designed by other ethnonyms. We notice Goths doing service in Scythian battalions, or warriors of Germanic Herulian origin commanded by officers with good Latin names. All this is amply attested to in tombstone inscriptions from a Roman military cemetery at Concordia in the present-day Veneto region, dating from the end of the fourth-century A.D. This evidence eloquently indicates how the Roman army in Late Antiquity may have served as a seedbed for 'nationalities'. Army units, held together by ethnic names and cemented by a common language, a common code of conduct and a common esprit de corps, formed focal points for the transformation of originally heterogeneous and incoherent clusters of people into discernibly structured social groups¹⁹.

Attractive as such a hypothesis may seem, however, we do not have access to any evidence that proves it was the case. For the time-being, therefore, we have to put aside such assumptions.

BOHEMI and the Population of the Czech Lands

What other possibilities do we have to explain the emergence of the BOHEMI as an entity? This ethnonym could have been borne by a group of Longobards, or, better still, by a conglomerate of fragments and splinters of various social groups, who might have sought refuge among the mountain ridges and valleys of Bohemia and Moravia, which protected them, at least to some extent, from the worst of the fifth-century Hunnic wars. Having very little in common, these people could have decided to form a common identity by calling themselves by the name of the land which they inhabited – BOHEMI from Bohemia.

¹⁹ On this see Hoffmann 1963, and Handley 2003, 16–17.

Two items of evidence argue in favor of this hypothesis. The first is given by the original name of the Bavarians, *Baiovarii*, frequently taken to derive from a hypothetical ethnonym **Baia viri*, ‘men from Baia’, that is, Bohemia²⁰. The second is provided by the author of the History of the Longobards, Paul the Deacon, who describes the wanderings of his people through several lands including *Bainaib*, again usually interpreted as Bohemia²¹. An argument from archeology may also point in the same direction: grave equipment from the newly discovered fifth-century cemetery at Praha-Zličín reflects a surprising variety of cultural interconnections, shown by visual styles, that range from the eastern Danube basin over the northern Elbe basin to as far as the Rhineland²².

But such cases of a deliberately constructed ethnic affiliation and consequent political identity turn up more often than one would expect in early medieval history. By way of example, let us consider the earliest source for the history of Kievan Rus’, Nestor’s annals²³, which speak quite clearly. They tell us how the founder of this state, Prince Oleg, was accompanied by ‘Varangians, and Slavs, and they called themselves together Russians’²⁴. Here the cementing agent was not a place but a new political entity. Members of a new state chose a new name, to distinguish themselves from old ethnic labels which were felt to be insufficient descriptors of a new social reality.

Similar cases are in evidence as early as in Late Antiquity. A group of Sarmatian, (and thus most probably Pontic) origin, consisting of various fragments of ‘tribes’, took up residence on the Danube upon entering Roman service. In local sources, these people acquired the name of *Limigantes*, which probably derives from their being stationed on the frontier, in Latin *limes*²⁵.

Again, the material culture of the last Germanic groups in the territory of Bohemia and Moravia displays such a high degree of heterogeneity that it could well offer information about the varied geographical (and/or ethnic?) origins of its members. Alamannic, Bavarian, Frankish and Longobard parallels for finds on Czech territory do imply a variety

²⁰ See Bertram 2007, with ref.

²¹ All questions of Longobard history have now been extensively treated in Pohl-Erhard 2005.

²² See, for the time being, http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archeologick%C3%BD_v%C3%BDzkum_v_Praze-Zli%C4%8D%C3%ADn%C4%9B.

²³ Also known as Tale of Bygone Years, *Povest’vremennykh let*.

²⁴ Košnar 1992, 134.

²⁵ Amory 1997, 38, fn. 92.

of cultural orientations, and thus presumably of regional origins, within the last Germanic populations of the Czech lands²⁶.

If this was indeed the case, the 'synthetic identity' of the Germanic BOHEMI inhabiting the Czech lands could well have accommodated the first Slavic-speaking newcomers. These would have integrated themselves into the ranks of the BOHEMI, and then a process would have begun which is documented many times all over early medieval Europe. Having first supplied manpower as common soldiers or as manual laborers, (as the *Gastarbeiter* of Late Antiquity), speakers of Slavic would have subsequently intermarried with the BOHEMI, have become their friends and allies, and, ultimately, due to their gradually growing numbers, have interpenetrated and taken over the BOHEMI as their own social group.

Something of this kind happened to the ancient southern neighbors of the Czechs, the Carantanian Slavs. Upon their arrival in the lee of the Alps, Slavic groups found the lands occupied by a late Roman population and recently arrived Germanic settlers, some of whom spoke (East) Gothic. The Slavs set themselves up as the ruling elite of a new political grouping, taking its name from a Latin-language toponym *Caranta*, and referred to all the local inhabitants as *Carantani*. This allows one to assume that the identity of the Carantanian Slavs does not stem from an original component of the earliest Slav population, but that it emerged only after they had settled down in their new homeland²⁷. Was this the case of the BOHEMI in Bohemia (and Moravia)?

We should also note that a similar process may have resulted in the formation of the state of the Czechs' southern friends and allies, the Bavarians, of whom we heard earlier. Their polity is supposed to have emerged as a result of the coalition and interpenetration of eastern and western Germanic elements, including Alamans, but also Longobards, on a foundation of Late Roman populations. Here, however, we can follow the emergence of their state in more detail. The Bavarians appear in written sources for the first time in 551. Sometime around 555, Chlothar I, a king of the Merovingian dynasty and son of Clovis (Chlodowech or Chlodwig), gave Walderad, a Longobard princess and his one-time consort, in marriage to a gentleman named Garibald, *uno ex suis*, who the

²⁶ See on this Droberjar 2005.

²⁷ The earliest history of the Carantanians was extensively treated by Kahl 2005; see also Štih 2006.

Bavarians accepted as their duke. This moment is now interpreted as being the constitutive act of Bavarian statehood. Garibald was a member of the noble Agilolfinga family, with excellent connections to the nobility of the Visigoths, Suebi, Franks, and Burgundians as well as to Latin-speaking elites. In fact, the appointment of a paramount chief with good connections to the Merovingian world to direct the affairs of a people united in will and faith appears as the final step in the long history of the formation of the Bavarian body politic²⁸.

Is there any particular reason why the BOHEMI were not integrated into the Merovingian realms in the same manner? Was it because the Czech lands were already a different world – a world with another language, for instance?

BOHEMI and the Origo Gentis Saga of the Bohemians

Czechs are proud of the ancient sagas of their origins and their arrival in Bohemia, as is evidenced by accounts dating back almost a thousand years. They have all heard of the nation's ancestor Bohemus²⁹, who came to the country with his people and prophesied well-being and bounty from the top of the Říp mountain. Every Czech child knows of Libuše, the wise prophetess, who foretold the glory of the nation, and of Přemysl, a mythical ploughman chosen to be Libuše's husband by an embassy of prominent ancient Bohemians, and many others³⁰. Do these tales tell us anything of significance about the BOHEMI?

The first ancestor, Bohemus, seems to have been a creation of Cosmas the Chronicler. Remembering his lessons at the cathedral school in what is now Liege in Belgium, he proceeded according to the well-known medieval maxim of *fons omnis sapientiae est, bene discernere nomina rerum*³¹. Presented with a nation who called themselves Bohemians, and who, in Cosmas's time, were undoubtedly Czech, he reasoned that these people must originate from a single ancestor who gave the nation its name³². As Bohemus is not mentioned in an earlier account of the

²⁸ On the earliest history of the Bavarians see Hardt 2003b.

²⁹ As he is called by the most ancient author, Cosmas the Chronicler, writing between 1119 and 1125; the modern rendering 'Čech' cannot be substantiated in the earliest, Latin-language sources.

³⁰ On all the relevant questions see most recently Třeštík 2003, and Plassmann 2006.

³¹ 'The source of all wisdom is to discern correctly the names of things.'

³² On the various *origo gentis* sagas of early medieval Europe see now Plassmann 2006, including a chapter on Cosmas the Chronicler.

mythical origins of the Bohemian nation (written by an author under the pseudonym *Christianus*, probably at the end of the tenth-century), we may assume that Cosmas invented him.

But let us try to locate and identify some other components of the Bohemian saga. Firstly, we cannot fail to notice a number of similarities with the *origo gentis* saga of the Longobards. The Longobards and the Bohemians were the only two nations of early medieval Europe who had a founding mother rather than a founding father. Princess Gambara, the mother of all Longobards, gave birth to two sons who founded two branches of the Winnil people. Here we may draw parallels with the tale of the two brothers Čech and Lech, supposed founding fathers of Bohemia and Poland, which, while not known from the earliest existing sources, may possibly have ancient origins. When King Alboin brought the Longobards to Italy in 568, he also prophesied their well-being in their new homeland from the top of a high mountain³³.

Another link between the Bohemian *origo gentis* saga and the Longobard world is the genealogy of the ancestry of the Přemyslid dynasty, the eight mythical dukes who were said to have ruled the Bohemians *in illo tempore*³⁴. The repetition of the *-mysl*³⁵ element in their names suggests a possible connection with one of the mythical dynasties of the Longobard people (Lethingi or Lithingi), in which the names of the kings all contain the element **hugu*, with the same meaning³⁶.

An ancestor of considerable interest is Krok, successor of Bohemus and father of the three mythical daughters, Kazi, Teta and Libuše, who were each endowed with magical powers. Unlike Bohemus, Krok's historical existence is attested to by written sources. Crocus, King of the Alemanni 'tribe', officer of the Roman army and possibly a *tribunus scholae* (commander of the palace guard) played a major role in an event which occurred at the then Roman Eboracum (York) in 306, when Constantine, the future Constantine the Great, assumed the dignity of a Roman emperor. Modern scholars even ponder the possibility that this step was masterminded and orchestrated by Crocus himself³⁷. (Fig. 02)

³³ All the relevant details may be found in the Longobard chronicle of Paul the Deacon, in editions listed in the References section. See also Plassmann 2006, 191–193, 204 and 212.

³⁴ *Přemysl*, *Nezamysl*, *Mnata*, *Vojen*, *Vnislav*, *Křesomysl*, *Neklan* and *Hostivít*.

³⁵ 'Mysl' is 'sense', 'mind', 'thought' or similar.

³⁶ Haubrichs 2005, 79–81.

³⁷ On Crocus and the Alamanni 'tribe' (rather an age group, 'alle Männer', all men, presumably adult men) see now the data assembled in Fuchs 1997.



Figure 02: The Emperor Constantine rewarded those who had helped him to the throne by giving them rings with the inscription FIDEM CONSTANTINO ('fidelity to Constantine'). Did the king of the Alamanni, Crocus, possibly Krok of the ancient sagas of Bohemia, also wear one? (Fuchs 1997, 119).

This is a most surprising development. In the Bohemian *origo gentis* saga, Krok does not play any particularly significant role. A successor of Bohemus and an elected administrator ('judge') of his people, he earned his status among the mythical ancestors of the Bohemian nation by fathering the three daughters, Kazi, Teta and Libuše, to whom he left the rule of the country in the absence of a son. There is, in fact, no reason at all for his place in the saga, as the three daughters could very well have been brought into the world by Bohemus himself. However, Krok's position must already have been well established by the time of Cosmas the Chronicler, who provided the first complete account of the Bohemian *origo gentis* saga. I believe that the fairly low key position accorded by the learned canon of St. Guy's cathedral to the father of Kazi, Teta and Libuše indicates that Cosmas did not know the historical truth about Krok. If so, as a faithful son of the Church of Rome, he would hardly have failed to exploit the opportunity to elevate a personage, who had 'created' the very first Christian emperor of the Western world, into an ancestor of his own people. Cosmas must therefore have taken the reference to Krok from some earlier mythical account, which was, however,

already sufficiently removed from Krok's own times to have dropped both his royal ancestry and his role in Constantine the Great's assumption of the Roman throne.

We will now turn to the equally interesting and mysterious character of another ancestor of the Bohemians, the prophetess and duchess Libuše. The tenth-century *Christianus* text, the very first narrative of the Bohemian *origo gentis* saga, describes the nation leaving its homeland not led by a male ancestor, but by an anonymous prophetess, undoubtedly the earliest documented incarnation of Libuše³⁸. *Christianus* denotes her office by a most unusual title *phitonissa*, a clear metathesis of the Latin substantive *pythonissa*. This name reveals the writer's high level of Latin culture: the substantive denotes the *mulier habens pithonem*, 'woman with a python' of the Vulgata, the witch of En-Dor, to whom King Saul turned, asking her to summon the prophet Samuel's ghost from the nether world to give him advice³⁹. The anonymous prophetess of *Christianus* finds a peculiar form of integration into the world of Latin Christianity here. Another link with the Longobard tradition may be seen in the fact that the same word, *phitonissa*, denoting Gambara, the ancestor of the nation, may be found in the *Historia Langobardorum*, where Paul the Deacon directly refers to the *serpentes parentes* of the great mother⁴⁰.

Libuše, of course, took a decisive step in the nation's mythical history when she sent out an embassy of the most prominent Bohemians to find a man worthy to rule the people with her as consort, instructing them to follow her horse which would lead them to the candidate. It is here that we meet Libuše in the role familiar from Indo-European mythology, which is particularly documented in old Welsh and Irish tales. This mythical suzerain, frequently appearing with a horse, confers power over a land to a male by entering into intimate relations with him⁴¹.

Thus we are presented with an anonymous ruler of the BOHEMI, sponsor of a bard or poet who composed for him (or her) a mythical tale to describe the origins of the nation. It is important to take chronology into account here. Longobard influences are likely to have played a significant role in the fifth and sixth centuries, and hardly after 568⁴². As for the Alamanni, the BOHEMI may have come into contact with them as

³⁸ A recent overview of the nation's earliest history and historiography may be found in Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Opačić 2007.

³⁹ I Samuel 28, 3–25; see Ruhe 1993, 74.

⁴⁰ *Historia Langobardorum*: Foulke 1974, 321–322.

⁴¹ Simmons 2006 with ref. (Epona, Rhiannon, Macha).

⁴² On Longobard chronology see Pohl-Erhard 2005, as well as Stadler et al. 2003.

early as the fifth-century, but they may have given shelter to what remained of the Alamannic elite after their crushing defeat by Chlodovech, King of the Franks, at Tolbiac on the Rhine in 496⁴³. It is difficult to establish when the Alamannic elite culture died out, but I believe we would not go far wrong to say it ended in the eighth century.

So it seems that the essentials of the Bohemian *origo gentis* saga probably emerged somewhere at the juncture between Slav, Longobard and Alamannic influences, perhaps between the fifth and seventh centuries.

BOHEMI and their Fortunes after 568

In review, I believe we may surmise that the BOHEMI who remained on the territory of the present-day Czech Republic after 568 mixed with the Slavic-speaking newcomers, employed them and gradually united with them, to the point where Slavic became one of the languages most often spoken in the land. The Slavs were quick learners, and soon mastered the most important arts of the age – first and foremost, the art of warfare. We learn that as early as the beginning of the seventh-century, Slav auxiliary troops sent out by the khakan of the Avars helped the Longobard host lay siege to fortified cities. In many respects, Slav elites did not differ from those of other ethnic groups of early medieval Europe. They adopted the same strategy and more or less the same tactics. Albeit few, coeval written sources conclude that very soon, Slav elites were fully compatible with the economic and social structures of the European world of Late Antiquity and the incipient Middle Ages. We may also legitimately assume that the Slav segment of the BOHEMI were no strangers to the benefits of the culture and civilization of Late Antiquity, in aspects such as housing, interior furnishing, dress, cookery and leisure time.

...having left the city of Milan with his army in the month of July, king Agilulf [in 602, pch] laid siege to the city of Cremona with Slavs sent out in his aid by the khakan (cacanus) of the Avars. He conquered the city on 18th September, and he razed it to the ground.

Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* IV 28.

It may be that my readers will ask where can they find evidence for the BOHEMI that I propose, and also for the relationship between this elite

⁴³ On the Alamanni cf. Fuchs 1997; on Alamannic-Frankish relations Rouche 1997.

group and the culture of the Slav newcomers to the country, as it has long been presented in archeological writing. (Fig. 03)

In actual fact, archeologists did, and still do, find it difficult to visualize the beginnings of medieval culture in the Czech lands. The material culture of the so-called Prague type has usually been interpreted as the archeological manifestation of the first Slav inhabitants of the country. The constituent features of this culture were perceived in a specific type of sunken floored hut, roughly square in plan, with a stone kiln in one corner and often with traces of interior furnishing in the form of post-holes in their floors, as well as in very simple pottery products, mostly pots with rounded shoulders and lower parts tapering conically towards the base. It has only recently been observed that while these features of early medieval culture represent the most visible signs of the arrival of medieval civilization into the Czech lands, they are not necessarily the

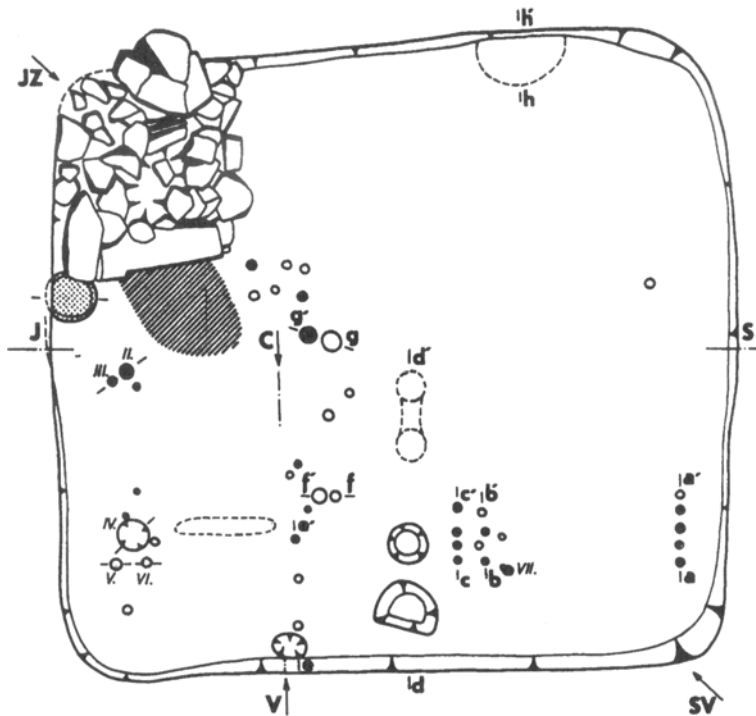


Figure 03: The sixth to seventh-century settlement site of Roztoky near Prague included this house, No. 926. A series of curving post-hole lines in the corner opposite the stone-built kiln may represent traces of an ancient sleeping platform (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, 409 Fig. 159).

most significant. Important contributions have been made over the last few decades by archeologists engaged in a major excavation of a cluster of early medieval habitation sites at the community of Roztoky, due north of Prague, at the bottom of the Vltava river valley⁴⁴.

Meticulous archeological excavation, and informed interpretation, resulted in the establishment of a crucial fact: while the material culture of the Roztoky sunken floored huts is very simple, it also shows traces of interaction with coeval European culture. Potters who supplied crockery to the inhabitants of the Roztoky huts decorated some of their wares with stamped patterns which were clearly modeled on pottery products of Merovingian affiliation. Artisans working in bone produced combs, unknown in this form in other eastern European regions presumably inhabited by Slavs, but imitating such articles used by members of the native Bohemian population, which most probably used a Germanic language⁴⁵. Local smiths delivered products which were difficult to distinguish from Frankish, Bavarian, Alamannic or Longobard wrought iron⁴⁶. We must therefore acknowledge the fact that the material culture of Europe west and south of Czech frontiers did circulate in Bohemia in those times – albeit that so little of it has survived into the modern age, and even less can be documented by archeological excavation and analysis. In early medieval Bohemia, the culture of the Merovingian, Bavarian and Longobard world has been preserved literally in imprints, impressions and inspirations. (Fig. 04 and 05)

This poses a difficult question, however. Who were the people who slept in the Roztoky huts, cooked and baked their food on the fires and in furnaces, and heated their homes by the kilns? The Roztoky settlement probably once housed ploughmen, shepherds and artisans serving the the nearest residence of the BOHEMI elite. Where such an establishment could be found is at present impossible to say. It might have been situated in the Zámka hill-fort in the present-day Prague quarter of Bohnice, on a rock cliff above the Vltava river opposite the Roztoky settlement. The Roztoky people may even have supplied products and

⁴⁴ Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005.

⁴⁵ Other bone products, like that depicted in Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, Fig. XXIV: 4, find parallels in the Danube region and central Europe dating from the second half of the sixth-century: Ivaniševič-Kazanski-Mastykova 2006, 27 Fig. 13, discussion on p. 27.

⁴⁶ A presumably Mediterranean reliquary with decoration providing a parallel for a silver casing or mount found at Roztoky (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, Fig. XXIII: 5) is dated to the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–641: Morello 1996).

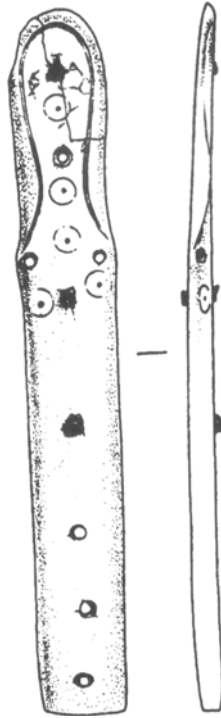


Figure 04: A bone handle found in feature 449 at Roztoky (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, 469 Fig. 219: 8).

services to other centers, the material traces of which have long ago been obliterated by the growing municipal center of Prague itself. History tends to keep some of its secrets. In fact, ongoing archeological excavations throughout Europe have shown that the quality of the Roztoky-type material culture, apparently rather low, constitutes no exception in terms of rural settlements of both adjacent regions and more distant areas inhabited by Germanic-speaking people⁴⁷. (Fig. 06 a 07)

Thus, after 568, Bohemian affairs were directed and managed by an elite calling themselves BOHEMI, of whom an increasing number spoke, or at least understood, Slavic. Representatives of this elite circle may have come to an agreement with the Merovingian empire, and possibly even acknowledged its supremacy. We hear that in 537, the Ostrogoths ceded supremacy over the lands north of the Alps to Franks, and that

⁴⁷ For similar huts in Bavaria see Fries-Knobloch 2006, 363–364.

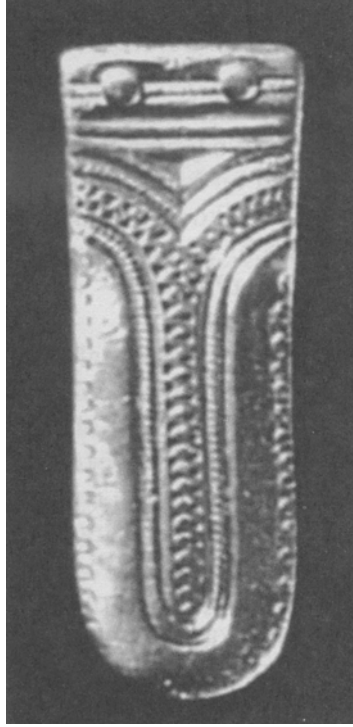


Figure 05: The compositional principle of the Roztoky bone handle decoration is the same as that of this gilt silver belt chape (strap-end mount), dating to around 530. It was discovered in the grave of an Alamannic lady of rank at the site of Schweningen in southwestern Germany. In this manner, the earliest medieval culture of Bohemia shows signs of the influences to which it was exposed (Fuchs 1997, 299–300).

the Franks did actually go on to assume power over those parts of Europe⁴⁸.

At this juncture we cross from the realm of history to that of archeology. Among other items, the Franks brought a distinctive type of weapon to Czech territory, which was supposed to be symbolic of their military power. At least three examples of an *angon*, a tip of a spear some fifty cm long, with a barbed, wrought iron point, have been discovered on the present day territory of the Czech Republic. One such object was deposited centuries ago in a warrior's grave at the aforementioned Roztoky settlement, and the proximity of this undoubtedly elite burial site to the

⁴⁸ See Bertram 2007 for evidence of coeval Frankish presence in Bavaria.

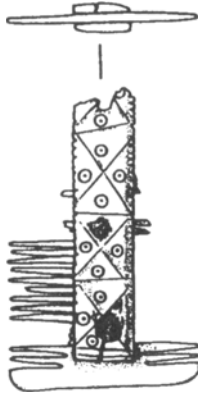


Figure 06: A bone comb from Roztoky (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, 484 Fig. 234: 7).

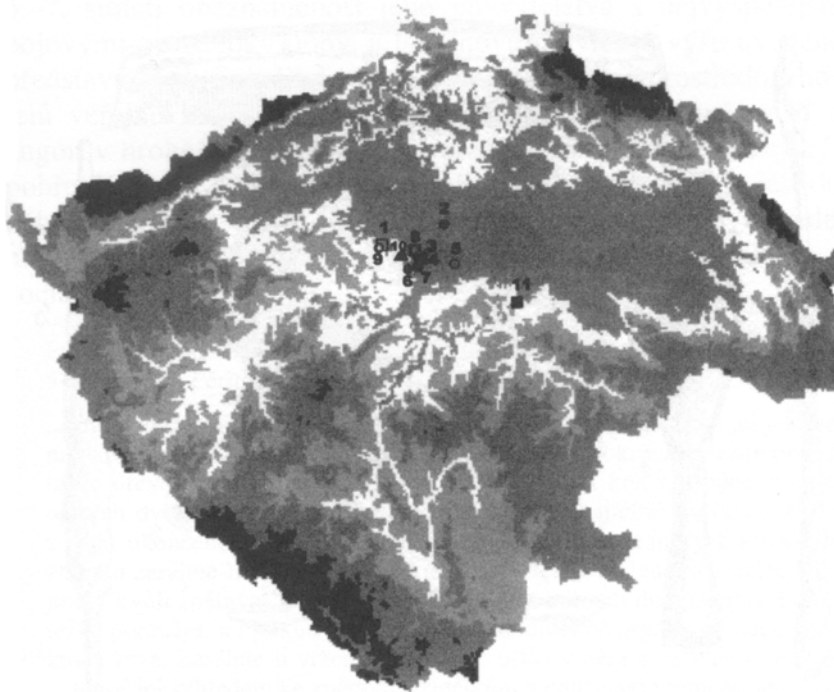


Figure 07: This map shows the diffusion of bone combs throughout sixth to seventh-century Bohemia. In their original homeland, Slavs did not use such items; they became familiar with them only after they had settled down in regions where bone combs were used. The map thus exposes the particular zone of contact between the newcomers and the resident population – in other words, it documents the region in which the earliest BOHEMI are to be sought (Kuna-Profantová et al. 2005, 195 Fig. 80).

cluster of early medieval habitations certainly merits our attention⁴⁹. According to the scale of social relevance of burial equipment in use for early medieval burials in central Europe, *angons* belong to group C, that is, to the second highest rank in the social hierarchy of occupants of such cemeteries⁵⁰. The personage buried at Roztoky must therefore have belonged to the upper echelon of Frankish society in Bohemia. (Fig. 08)

The angon is a stabbing weapon, neither too short, nor too long. You can throw it as a javelin, or you can wield it by both hands in face-to-face combat. Most of its surface is iron-clad, so that very little wood is actually seen, hardly more than the lower end. Two backward-turned and hooked barbs issue from the tip of the weapon at its very top, from the spear's tip, on every side, as well as from the point where the shaft engages the staff.

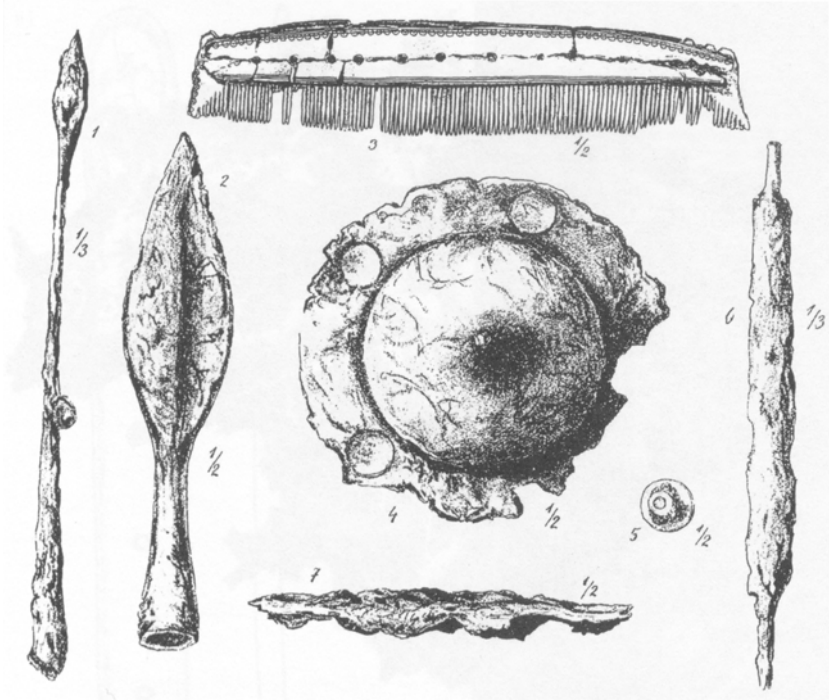


Figure 08: Finds from a Migration-period grave at Roztoky (possibly sixth-century). Point of a Frankish angon on the left (Píč 1909, 38).

⁴⁹ Píč 1909, p. 38, on left.

⁵⁰ A convenient summary of this classification is presented in Sasse 1990, 47 Abb. 2, and now in Wunsch 2006. On angons in the Merovingian armoury see also Périn 2006.

In the assault, Franks throw angons when necessary, and if their adversaries are hit by them, the points sink into the flesh and may be wrung out only with greatest difficulty, as the back-turned barbs tear the wounds open and cause intense pain. Thus, even if the wounds inflicted may not be lethal, those who are thus hit die of the excessive damage to their bodies. If the tips transfix shields, they remain stuck in them and have to be carried around, with the angon's lower end hitting the soil. The shield-bearer can neither wring the protruding tip free, because of the back barbs, nor can he cut it off with his sword because of the iron revetment of the staff. As soon as the Franks see their enemies thus encumbered, they stamp on the lower ends of the angons and jerk them towards themselves, thereby depriving their opponents of the protection of their shields. Then the Frankish warriors proceed to inflict fatal wounds on their hapless enemies, either hitting them on the head with their axes, or running their necks through with other spears.

The Frankish *angon* – Manual of Instruction (text by the Byzantine historian Agathias, *Historiae*, II 5–6, cited by Périn-Feffer 1987, II, p. 119).

But Why Stay in Bohemia (and Moravia)?

Vulnerable to any passing brigands, why did the BOHEMI choose to stay at home rather than proceed towards regions around the Mediterranean sea? Let us try to answer this question by briefly relating a story which, according to our sources, reflects life and its adversities in sixth-century Italy⁵¹. We will see how pillaging and marauding the now almost defunct western Roman empire could have had unforeseen and complicated consequences.

The story concerns a Goth warrior named Gundila, presumably of the Arian faith, who lived in Italy sometime around 539 and had served under King Witigis. Gundila's property was confiscated by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian's expeditionary force during a long and bloody campaign in Italy between 534 and 535. In order to recover what had belonged to him, Gundila appealed to the Byzantine General Belisarius, and having approached Pope Vigilius around the year 540, 'took the Roman way' and converted to Catholicism. Ultimately, upon receipt of a confirmation that he no longer fell under the jurisdiction of the Arian bishop of Rome, he recovered his lost landholdings, a part of which he subsequently donated to the church of the Virgin Mary at Nepi in Umbria.

⁵¹ The case is cited in Amory 1997, pp. 149–152, and 321–323.

This is, however, just the beginning of a whole merry-go-round of events. Shortly after 540, the Goth army took Nepi in the course of a counter-offensive and Gundila's property was confiscated again by the Goth commander Totila, who gave it to one of his officers (*comes*) named Tzalico. Then in 544 or 545, Belisarius's troops re-took Nepi, and Gundila launched another appeal to Belisarius. However, Belisarius had already donated the land in question to the Santa Aelia monastery at Nepi. Seeing no alternative, Gundila again approached Pope Vigilius. The pontiff sent word to the Santa Aelia monks, and ordered them to give the estate back to the veteran soldier, who had already, by his donation, proved his munificence to the Catholic Church beyond all doubt. Having thus successfully pursued his cause, Gundila proceeded to give one part of the relevant landholdings to the Santa Aelia monastery, and another to a regular house of Saint Stephen.

But it didn't stop there either. Goth troops re-conquered Umbria at the end of the 540's and the notorious Tzalico appropriated Gundila's property yet again.

The story stops here until the end of the war in 557. Groups of inheritors then addressed the Roman municipal administration to enquire about the destiny of the inheritance of the now deceased Gundila. This might have happened in consequence of the *pragmatic sanction* of Emperor Justinian, by which he suspended all the landed property transactions of the 'tyrant' Totila, and 'reconciled' Arian landholdings with the Catholic Church. At this juncture, Gundila's and Tzalico's inheritors went to court, disputing the property of two monasteries and a church. The Tzalico party based their claim on Totila's donation, and Catholic institutions doubtless presented their rights as well.

Unfortunately, the sources are not clear about the conclusion of the whole affair, but the fact that the documents survived in the archiepiscopal archive of Ravenna implies that the eternal institutions probably defended their rights successfully.

In fact, all this could have happened to anyone; we know that as early as 537, auxiliary units of the Hun, Slav and Antae cavalry served in the Byzantine army fighting the Goths in Italy.

This story clearly demonstrates that the integration of newcomers into the world of Late Antiquity was by no means an easy process, and that it might have entailed all sorts of unforeseen difficulties. Life in the Mediterranean area undoubtedly tempted many to go there; but many others might have preferred to steer clear of this entanglement of public, private, economic, political, social, spiritual and ecclesiastical interests.

Far from the Madding Crowd: Romans go 'Barbarian'

The Romans, on the other hand, are in the first place very liable to perish in war, as they have to rest their hopes of safety on others, and are not allowed, on account of their tyrants to use arms. And those who use them are injured by the cowardice of their generals, who cannot support the conduct of war. But the condition of the subjects in time of peace is far more grievous than the evils of war, for the exaction of the taxes is very severe, and unprincipled men inflict injuries on others, because the laws are practically not valid against all classes. A transgressor who belongs to the wealthy classes is not punished for his injustice, while a poor man, who does not understand business, undergoes the legal penalty, that is if he does not depart this life before the trial, so long is the course of lawsuits protracted, and so much money is expended on them. The climax of the misery is to have to pay in order to obtain justice. For no one will give a court to the injured man unless he pay a sum of money to the judge and the judge's clerks.

Speech of an unknown Greek recorded by Priscus, the Byzantine ambassador to the court of Attila, see <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/texts/priscus.html> (translation by J.B. Bury (Priscus, fr. 8 in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*)).

Our sources give eloquent testimonies of Roman subjects who, for one reason or another, decided to leave the safety and security of 'civilized' life under imperial protection to find a new 'home on the range' instead. We thus hear of a gentleman born in Constantinople, who, parading in Attila's camp wearing an exemplary Hun outfit, surprised a Byzantine imperial envoy by his perfect command of Greek. Asked why he, a descendant of the noble race of Homer and Hesiod, had decided to join the roaming barbarians, he cited the general insecurity, high taxes and corrupt justice in Byzantium⁵². Samo, the Frankish merchant who made his fortune among the Slavs, and of whom we shall hear more later, constitutes another such example.

Similar cases may be found in sources from other Mediterranean countries, and we shall cite at least some of them to illustrate this social phenomenon. At the beginning of the seventh-century, a Byzantine ship carrying building materials (such as marble, wood and iron) to one of the Christian churches in Ethiopia was shipwrecked on the east coast of

⁵² Speech of an unknown Greek recorded by Priscus, the Byzantine ambassador to the court of Attila in the year 448, see <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/texts/priscus.html> (translation by J.B. Bury (Priscus, fr. 8 in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*)).

the Red sea. Some lords of Mecca, members of the Quraysh family, took the ship's wood to their city and induced one of the ship's passengers, a carpenter or builder named Baqum, to build a roof over the Kaaba shrine. They gave him explicit instructions to build 'in the manner of Syrian buildings'. Having settled in Mecca and embraced Islam, Baqum is subsequently recorded to have built a three-tiered reading pulpit for Prophet Muhammad. Another ex-Byzantine in Arab service was Suhayb ibn Sinan. Born in Sasanian Mesopotamia around the year 590, he was captured and enslaved by the Byzantines. The Arab gentleman who bought him later re-sold him to one of the citizens of Mecca and until his master restored his freedom, Suhayb would sit beside Kaaba in the company of the Prophet Muhammad and listen to his teachings. On reaching maturity, Suhayb went into business and gradually amassed a considerable fortune. He died around 660 at the venerable age of seventy years, and was thus to some extent, in terms of age and lifestyle, a peer of Samo the Frankish merchant⁵³.

Avars and Other Easterners

Having discussed the West, let us now turn our attention to the East, where events not entirely without impact on the history of Bohemia and Moravia were to occur. Impelled towards the Eurasian steppes (a vast belt which begins in the Pontic region and ends in Inner Mongolia and western China) by the general desiccation of the climate that took place after 400 A.D., most of the nomadic groups spoke various Iranian or Turkic languages and dialects.

Among these nomadic groups, the 'founding fathers' of the first kagane of the Turks occupied a prominent position. This Turkic-speaking elite, who formed the Ashina clan, initially acknowledged the superiority of the rulers of the Ruran (Zhuan-Zhuan) empire of the northern borderlands of China, and settled with their people in Altai mountain regions assigned to them by the Ruran⁵⁴. It was there that the clan confederation of the Turkic-speaking groups, which assumed the name 'Turks' (Türk), first emerged. They proceeded not only to defeat the Ruran empire, but, in 552, to succeed in establishing the first Turkish

⁵³ For the relevant data see Osman 2005.

⁵⁴ On the Eurasian nomads see now Dschingis Khan und seine Erben, and Klyashtornyi-Sultanov 2006, Comparetti-de la Vaissière 2006, and Golden 2006.

kaganate, an empire stretching from the Volga river to the Altai mountains. The kaganate consisted of two parts. The eastern part, populated by the Orkhon Turks, was ruled by the founders of the confederation, the Ashina clan. The western part, that of the Oghuz Turks, assumed the form of a confederation named *Ön ok*, 'Ten arrows', according to the number of member groups. Albeit scant, Chinese written sources do supply some information about Turkish courtly culture: on official occasions, the kagan dressed in a cloak of green satin, and wore a head-cloth of silk. The first Turkish kaganate established relations with Byzantium as early as 567–568, when a Turkish embassy, headed by a gentleman of Sogdian descent named Maniakh, presented their credentials to Emperor Justinian⁵⁵.

After 600 A. D., a powerful opponent confronted the kaganate in the south and southeast, where the Chinese empire renewed its unity under the sway of the Sui (581–618) and especially T'ang (618–907) dynasties. The T'ang dynasty's Emperor T'ai-zong (618–649) even assumed the title of the ruler of the steppe clans. In 659, the first Turkish kaganate collapsed under the onslaught of armies of the Heavenly Empire, and the Chinese emperors brought the whole of Inner Asia as far as Bukhara and Samarkand under their suzerainty.

Let us note *en passant* that as early as this, Turkic-speaking tribes were trading along the Eurasian overland channel known as the Silk Road⁵⁶. In the sixth-century, the border regions of China paid the nomads as much as 100,000 'pieces' (rolls?) of silk every year. It is of relevance here that the Proto-Slavic word 'trh', meaning 'market', or 'fair', probably has connections with the Turkish and Mongol name for silk, 'torga' or 'torgo'⁵⁷. (Fig. 09)

The emergence of the first Turkish kaganate brought about a restructuring of the political order in the Eurasian steppe regions. Unwilling to bow to Turkish supremacy, a number of organized groups left both east and west, and one of these, the (presumably) Turkic-speaking Avars, was to make a lasting impression on Slav history. In 552, the Avars still occupied regions in the south of the Ural mountains. From there, they took the road due west to the Pontic area, where a treaty with the Byzantine emperor in 558 or 559 allowed them to settle in Roman, that is, Byzantine territory. This angered the Turkish kagan

⁵⁵ de la Vaissière 2002, 206.

⁵⁶ See most recently de la Vaissière 2002.

⁵⁷ See Dschingis Khan und seine Erben, and Jisl 1997.



Figure 09: This carving of a horseman comes from a rock relief showing the enthronement of the Sasanian ruler Khusrau II Aparviz (590–628) at Taq-i Bostan by present-day Kermanshah, Iran. The dignitary wears a robe of luxury cloth, displaying medallions depicting animals, and a nomad-type waist-belt with hanging straps, set with their own chapes (strap-end mounts). This is how the Avar kaganate elite probably dressed.

Tardu (575–603) who considered the Avars to be fugitives. Some skirmishes between Byzantine and Turkish groups ensued, but in the 560s the Avars established cordial relations to the Longobards, then resident in Pannonia in the Carpathian mountain range. This alliance united them against a common enemy, the Germanic Gepid tribe, who at that time inhabited the northeastern territory of present-day Romania. Together, Longobard and Avar troops defeated the Gepids, and when the Longobards left the Danube basin for Italy in 568, the Avars became rulers of Pannonia. Here, on the fertile plains of modern southern Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia and perhaps also parts of Romania, they proceeded to set up a kaganate of their own.

Relations between the Avar kaganate and Byzantium underwent a profound change after the death of Emperor Justinian (+ 565). In league with Slav contingents, Avar troops proceeded to not only harass the imperial borderlands, but to undertake a full-scale invasion of the Byzantine empire. Initially content to pillage and plunder Byzantine territories, they later went so far as to settle within the imperial borders. The horrors of this war reached a climax in 626 when Avar and Slav armies laid siege to the empire's capital, Constantinople. Stretching their powers to the limit, Byzantine troops (among whom warriors of Germanic, nomadic or even Slavic stock figured prominently) managed to repel the invaders.

At this juncture, the Avars laid down their arms and were content to collect yearly payments in gold and other luxury wares, which the Byzantine empire engaged itself to deliver. This development exerted a lasting influence on the material culture of the Avar kaganate, inspired the creativity of its artists, and helped to integrate the originally nomadic nobility into the (eastern) European *milieu*. We should also note that in turn, the Avar milieu, and especially nomadic fashion, left its impression on the dress of western ladies and gentlemen, particularly in the form of nomadic waist-belts. These distinctive items had short hanging straps which often bore their own decorative elements to match the ornaments of the belt itself⁵⁸.

From the knowledge that we have, it seems appropriate to view the Avar kaganate as characteristic of early medieval statehood. The Avar elite used their estates in the middle of the Danube basin as temporary bases for part of the agricultural year, and it seems that they used the

⁵⁸ See Cavallari 2005, 153–154 for Italy; also, the evidence gathered in Menghin 2007 (for Bavaria, Bertram 2007). For Far Eastern parallels see Fahr-Becker 2007, 683.

human resources within their realms to move qualified labor into the regions where they spent certain seasons of the year, and which served them as economic bases and supply centers. In this way, they introduced more advanced agricultural and craft technologies from the one-time Roman provinces into regions beyond the ancient imperial frontiers, and thus helped to accelerate developments within these areas⁵⁹.

Light has been shed on the physical composition of the Avar kaganate elite by the results of an anthropological study of human remains buried in extensive cemeteries in Hungary and southern Slovakia. The populations interred there show both marked heterogeneity and a prominent degree of interracial assimilation. Whilst dominated by European characteristics, they also display the occasional but nonetheless marked presence of Mongoloid or Near Eastern traits⁶⁰. (Fig. 10)

At first, the Avar elite ruled their kaganate personally, so to speak. With the passage of time, however, as their genes dispersed among wider and wider sections of the population, it seems that the nomad nobility lost their dominant status. Subordinate groups of the kaganate gradually rose to higher and higher positions, until the state consisted of a more or less voluntary grouping of corporate social bodies which held together in a very loosely manner. Confronted by the challenge of Charlemagne's armies in 791 and again in 796, the (hardly more than nominally) Avar elite was unable to marshal full support from its one-time subordinate groups and suffered a series of crushing defeats, in the course of which nearly all of the nomadic nobility is reported to have perished⁶¹.

Samo, the Frankish Merchant: Where, When, What?

Any debate on the BOHEMI must necessarily include the very first historical figure of the medieval age that we know from this part of Europe – Samo, the Frankish merchant (? – *ante* 660, most probably 658 or 659). While many authors have speculated about this mysterious character, there is just one authentic reference to him, and that is in the work of a writer known as Fredegar. Fredegar probably served as an official,

⁵⁹ A review of the extensive literature (e. g. Pohl 1988, Čilinská 1996) may be found in Hardt 2003a. More recently see also Stadler et al. 2003, Plassman 2006, and Shchukin 2007.

⁶⁰ The evidence at hand is summarized in Kašpar 1994.

⁶¹ The westerners also suffered losses. See Borgolte 1986, 122–126 on Gerold II, the first Frankish administrator of the subjugated Bavaria, commander of the expeditionary force, who fell in battle against the Avars on September 1st, 799, and was buried at Reichenau by an altar which he himself had established.



Figure 10: This portrait of a Sasanian queen is probably representative of the appearance of the earliest medieval elites of Bohemia. The type of earrings worn by the queen have been discovered in Bohemia and Moravia: Měřínský 2002, 525, middle of the lowest row (Lukonin 1979, 154 Fig. 28).

possibly even as a chancellor, to the Frankish administrators of Austrasia in the present-day French city of Metz. Having written a chronicle of the world that began with the creation of human beings, he reached an account of his own times in his fourth installment.⁶²

⁶² The editions of Fredegar's chronicle are listed among the sources in the Reference section of this book. See also Wood 1994, and, most extensively and with references,

Fredegar's Samo⁶³ is a Frankish merchant (*negucians*) who did business with the Slavs. (The commodities in which he dealt are not specified in the text.) He visited Slav regions sometime after 620, perhaps in 623 or 624. At that time, sons of Slav mothers and Avar fathers, who felt unjustly deprived of their status as Avar gentlemen, revolted against the Avar establishment. Samo accepted command of this revolt and under his lead the Slavs inflicted defeat upon Avar troops. This may have happened as a result of the disaster Avar armies suffered before Constantinople, which must have occurred around the same time. In recognition of Samo's military prowess, the Slavs raised him to the status of their king.

Samo's next challenge came from Merovingian Gaul. Aware of the vulnerability of the eastern border of his large empire, Dagobert, the Merovingian king (629–639) demanded that Samo and his new subjects submit to his authority. At first, Samo was inclined to acquiesce, but annoyed by the harsh tone and blatant arrogance of Sicharius, Dagobert's official envoy, retorted to Sicharius's injunction that 'Christians will not deal with pagan dogs' with the well chosen *bon mot* 'even dogs have sharp teeth'.

War broke out in 631, and Dagobert spared no effort to eliminate the problem. Samo's territory was invaded by three armies, the Austrasian host of Dagobert being joined in action by Longobard troops, probably under the orders of King Arioald (626–636) and by an auxiliary contingent sent by the Alamannic Duke Crodoberht. The campaigns of the two latter armies met with complete success, and they returned home in possession of both plunder and prisoners. Dagobert's army, staffed by warriors from the original Austrasian home of the king, approached the border of Samo's territory and broke camp under a border fortification called *Wogastisburc*. After observing that the fort was manned by Slav warriors and skirmishing with them for three days, Dagobert's troops lost the will to fight, packed up and returned home.

A short diversion is required here in order to explain this apparently strange phenomenon. When Dagobert moved to Paris upon ascension to the Merovingian throne in 629, he soon forgot his original Austrasian aides and supporters and employed westerners as his new courtiers and

Wolfram 1995, 44 fn. 168. Also Třeštík 1997, and from the archaeological viewpoint Stadler et al. 2003, 268–271, Měřinský 2002, 191–221, and Plassmann 2006, 149ff.

⁶³ The latest linguistic analysis concludes that the name is difficult to explain. It may stem from one of the Celtic dialects spoken in Gaul (Celtic *samo- = 'summer', or Old Irish *sómo- = 'quiet', 'peaceful', 'agreeable', 'convenient'), as well as from Slavic: Blažek 2005, 954 and 957 # 11.

staff. His Austrasian partisans bitterly resented this, and reproached him for his swift disregard of those who had elevated him to a position of power from a young age. They thus felt no particular inclination to challenge Slav fighters, and came home at the first opportunity.

After this, 'hot war' ceased on both sides, and a fragile but enduring armistice ensued. King Dagobert built up administrative and defensive structures to hold his eastern border together, especially in Alamannia and Thuringia. He entrusted the key posts in these new establishments to reliable officials of Frankish origin, and employed political measures to fortify the rather loose network of border posts. Having made an anti-Slav treaty with the Saxons, he waived the tax they had previously paid to the Austrasians⁶⁴.

Samo, on the other hand, ended his days in peace, surrounded by family and friends. Fredegar reports that Samo's reign lasted for thirty-five years in total, and that his twelve wives bore him twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters. He probably died at the end of the 650s.

Samo, the Frankish Merchant: So What?

Although sources of information about Samo are relatively abundant, they leave many unanswered questions about Frankish-Slav relations at the beginning of the Middle Ages, and also about the history of the western fringe of Slavdom. Generations of scholars have tried their best to bring more of 'treasure of darkness' into visibility. Let us see how successful they were.

To begin with, take the question of Samo's homeland. Fredegar hails him as *natione Francus de pago Senondago*. In the central European tradition, *pagus Senondagus* has been interpreted as the region around the French city of Sens⁶⁵. Scholars of western Europe tend to look for Samo's homeland in the vicinity of Soignies by the city of Mons in present-day Wallonian (western) Belgium⁶⁶.

Here, the fact that Samo was of Frankish and not Levantine origin warrants our attention. From the beginning of the fifth-century, many people from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean sea – Greeks, Syrians, Palestinians, Egyptians and Jews – moved to settle in the western

⁶⁴ Valuable information may be found in Périn-Feffer 1985, and Périn-Feffer 1987.

⁶⁵ *Département* of Yonne, *région* Bourgogne.

⁶⁶ Province of Hainaut.

Mediterranean. They supplied Oriental goods, both wholesale and retail, until the third quarter of the seventh-century. After 680, all traces of their presence west of Sicily and the Alps vanishes. What is interesting is that this period of time – the third quarter of the seventh-century – witnessed other important changes in the sphere of international commerce. First and foremost, Byzantine gold currency was by and large no longer in circulation outside the frontiers of the empire after around 680⁶⁷. The same period also witnessed the disappearance of the *argentarii* (probably the financial experts, bankers and credit providers referred to in sources from Late Antiquity). It therefore seems that this period of time witnessed a re-structuring of international commercial ventures, whereby entrepreneurs reaped the highest profits by delivering small(er) amounts of luxury goods rather than wholesale supplies of bulk goods⁶⁸.

But Samo's activities as a trader pre-date the demise of the Levantine merchants, who would have constituted serious competition. Here again we must take King Dagobert's political strategy into consideration. Until 629, that being the year when he took rule of his forefather's vast empire, Dagobert's realms constituted a rather narrow enclave situated in the northern sector of the present-day Franco-Belgian frontier. Having had limited resources at his disposal during his political youth, he evidently decided to bolster his budget by investing in international trade. Unfortunately, his was a turbulent age even in this respect. After 568, when the Alpine passes could no longer serve for long distance trade due to events connected with the Longobard occupation of Italy, Mediterranean merchants tried to open up an alternative route *via* the Rhône river valley. This was, however, one of the last active moves of the southern trade northwards, and after about 640, traffic between Mediterranean shores and regions north of the Massif Central and the Alps gradually petered out⁶⁹.

All of this must have induced the young Dagobert to rely exclusively on his own resources. It may well have been due to his initiatives that an important center of international commerce was established during this period somewhere on the northeastern French coastline. (Unfortunately, while we know the name of this settlement was Quentovic, its exact

⁶⁷ On this, see most recently Curta 2006a, 147–164, and Somogyi 2008, 140–144.

⁶⁸ I have dealt with this earlier, in Charvát 1998. Most of the original source data may be found in Claude 1985. See also McCormick 2001, and Blanchard 2001.

⁶⁹ See Hodges-Whitehouse 1996.

location still eludes us.) Furthermore, the geographical location of the mints that he founded quite clearly indicates that their output was to flow towards the east and not the south. This eastward orientation clearly determined Dagobert's political strategy; as well as the fortification of the eastern border which was mentioned earlier, he also initiated the assimilation of Slavs into European culture by a series of Christian missions. As we shall hear in due course, however, this was not a great success.

In fact, it cannot be ruled out that the Merovingian administration relied on Samo in an episode we heard about earlier. Sometime around 555, Chlotachar (Lothar) I, King of the Merovingian dynasty and son of Clovis (Chlodowech or Chlodwig) gave Walderad, a Longobard princess and his one-time consort, in marriage to a gentleman named Garibald, *uno ex suis*. Garibald was a descendant of the noble Agilolfinga family, with excellent connections to the nobility of the Visigoths, Suebi, Franks and Burgundians, as well as to Latin-speaking elites. The Bavarians subsequently accepted him as their duke, and this moment is now interpreted as the very Act of Constitution of Bavarian statehood. Did the Merovingians envisage a similar task for Samo?

*Samo, the Frankish Merchant: Long-Distance Trade in the Czech Lands
in the Seventh Century*

Fredegar tells how Samo came to the Slavs *negucians*, that is, buying and selling goods. What kind of goods? There is a possibility that Samo's 'merchandise' was Slav slaves, but this does not seem very likely. Contemporary sources, such as the Life of St. Germain of Auxerre, describe the saintly prelate saving slaves from Scandinavia, Britain, Saxony and Spain who were being offered for sale in western European markets. A story recorded in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* refers to an episode in the life of Pope Gregory I (590–604) which goes as follows: During his visit to the Roman slave market, Pope Gregory marveled at the beauty of the British slaves being offered for sale and asked where they came from. When told that the men were *Angli* (from England), the pontiff is reported to have exclaimed: 'Non Angli, sed angeli!'⁷⁰. He immediately decided to send a Christian mission to this nation in order to save it from paganism.

⁷⁰ 'Not English but angels!'

Another story recorded in coeval sources tells of a Merovingian lady named Bathilda who was also of Anglo-Saxon stock. Sometime in the late seventh-century, she fell victim to Syrian (*sic!*) pirates in the Channel and was taken to be sold in Merovingian realms. Here her beauty attracted one of the highest dignitaries of the empire, who subsequently married her and presented her at the royal court – an act he later had reason to regret. This time, she attracted the attentions of King Chlodowech (Clovis) II himself and he ultimately took her for his wife. (The fate of her first husband is unknown.) After spending years as queen of the Merovingian empire, Bathilda retreated from public life and founded the Chelles Abbey near Paris. Having found a safe haven at last, she passed the rest of her days in prayer and meditation, and died peacefully there in 680 or 681⁷¹.

There was therefore no sense in Samo's traveling over half of Europe in order to get 'merchandise' which he could easily have procured in any of the big Merovingian markets. We must thus consider other kinds of 'goods'. At one time, I speculated about the Oriental luxuries that came into Europe by the Silk road, which Avar middlemen may have re-sold to merchants from the Merovingian empire in the Czech lands. This was before I accepted an invitation from my learned friend and colleague, Patrick Périn, director of the National Museum of Antiquities at the Castle of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The purpose of my visit, which took place in the year 2000, was to study the most recent specialized literature focusing on the long-distance connections of material culture in the Merovingian world.

Patrick Périn and his colleagues noticed some time ago that Merovingian items of luxury dress and equipment, executed in the so-called 'colorful style', were decorated with two types of red stones set in gold. Before around 600 A.D., these were large, clear stones of high quality, belonging to the almandin series. After 600 A.D. up to around the beginning of the eighth-century, however, Merovingian jewelery was set with smaller, darker stones of poorer quality, frequently complimented by decorative patterns executed in granulation or filigree and belonging to the garnet (pyrope) series. Why this difference, and where did the two types of red stone come from? The beautiful, pre-600 stones presented no problem: they were imported from Indian sources. But the post-600

⁷¹ On Queen Bathilda and the relics which she left see Périn-Feffer 1985 and Périn-Feffer 1987.

less showy items proved, on examination, to be closest in their chemical composition to the famous Bohemian garnets⁷².

This came as some surprise, but such are the many analyzes to hand that the observation cannot be dismissed as unfounded. My publication of the investigations of my French and German colleagues was met with mistrust, the argument being that it was hypothesis rather than fact. I cannot deny that it is indeed difficult to submit positive proof that contacts between the Czech lands and the Merovingian empire became such that regular deliveries of the red stone were made to jewelers in western Europe. What we can do, however, is look for evidence to indicate the nature of relations between Bohemia, Moravia and the Western world at the beginning of the Middle Ages.

The excavation report from the early medieval site of Roztoky included a study of seventh-century coin finds from the Czech lands by the specialist Jiří Militký⁷³.

The first conspicuous feature of these finds is the great diversity of mints that they manifest. While the discovery of coins from Constantinople is not surprising, coins from Antioch on the Orontes, Nicomedia in Greece, Ravenna in Italy and comparatively rare specimens from Catania in Sicily, as well as output from the Carthage mint, have also all turned up on Czech territory.

One thing warrants particular attention. Much as elsewhere beyond the Byzantine frontiers, the latest gold coins found in Czech territory are those of Heraclius (610–641) and their imitations (Bohuslavice, Moravia). However, the latest Byzantine issues of bronze or copper found in Czech territory date to the reign of Emperor Constans II (+ 669). This date approximates to that of the last Byzantine issues of the third quarter of the seventh-century, as mentioned above⁷⁴. What is most important, however, is that the occurrence of smaller denominations of copper/bronze in Czech territory testifies to the commercial nature of exchange practices, and confirms that relations between the Czech lands and the foci of international trade were really of monetary character; unlike the gold coins, the small pieces of copper and/or bronze have altogether no intrinsic value.

⁷² I dealt with the data at hand in Charvát 2002; most recently see Périn-Calligaro 2005, esp. pp. 192ff.

⁷³ Militký 2005.

⁷⁴ For the disappearance of Byzantine issues of copper/bronze in the early Middle Ages beyond the imperial frontiers see the overview in Ward-Perkins 2005, 114–115 Fig. 5: 9.

This leads us to conclude that at least until about 680, the Czech lands were actually in contact with international commerce, and used lower denominations of coined copper/bronze as currency –at least ten years, and probably longer, after the death of Samo.

How are we to envisage the ways and means of contact between Bohemia, Moravia and the Merovingian world? Here it is of consequence to look east, and focus on the region of the Břeclav/Lundenburg city on the Dyje/Thaya river, the present-day frontier point between the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Austria. Discovered some decades ago at the site of Poštorná by Břeclav, a hoard of decorative silver and items of dress was recently analyzed by Lubomír Košnar of Charles University in Prague⁷⁵. This analysis indicated that the hoard was deposited sometime in the first half of the seventh-century. It also outlined how its contents mirrored contact with three spheres of art creation. First and foremost, Avar-oriented artifacts displayed Danubian influences. Second, characteristics from Byzantine art were in evidence (which was more or less to be expected). The third and most surprising observation is that which suggests contact with the Baltic area.

This merits particular attention. The lively flow of trade that linked the Gaul of Late Antiquity with the Baltic coast in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. ceased after the year 500. However, this supply line must have been replaced by another which led through European inland areas – as the fairly recent discovery of a cluster of Merovingian-style finds in northeastern Poland (Masovia), would testify⁷⁶.

I believe that this fact helps to clarify the general situation. It seems that taking the Danube route from western Europe, Merovingian traders, probably including Samo, headed due east to present-day Moravia and/or Slovakia, from where they headed north or northeast in order to reach the Masovian region where they exchanged their goods for domestic products. (It is very difficult to guess what these might have been, unless the local commodities included, for instance, animal furs⁷⁷.) All of this bears out the assumption that as early as the seventh-century, contacts between the Merovingian world and eastern Europe were by no means exceptional or occasional.

⁷⁵ Košnar 1994.

⁷⁶ Kazanski-Mastykova 1999, 62, more recently Nowakowski 2007, 147–148 for contacts of Masovia with the Carpathian basin.

⁷⁷ On this see Kazanski 1992; on the fur trade see also de la Vaissière 2002, 248–249.

The Realms of Samo: Where?

This is indeed a tricky question. Much has been written and said in rather fruitless discussions about the geographical situation of *Wogastisburc*, the frontier fort of Samo's territory. One thing seems certain, however: Samo must have reigned in areas of mixed Avar-Slav population, and I am sorry to say that neither Bohemia nor Moravia were ever such places. I believe that the heart of Samo's realm is to be sought further east, somewhere in present-day northeastern Austria or southwestern Slovakia. My Austrian colleagues have pointed to the arrival of Slav groups (bearers of a distinctive material culture displaying contacts with the lower Danube basin or the Pontic area) in present-day Austrian territory sometime after 630, and ascribed this phenomenon to the expansion of Samo's realm⁷⁸. This corresponds with the evidence presented above regarding trade between the (western) Danube basin and Masovia, which was likely to have passed through Moravia, Slovakia or Austria.

In the locality of *Wogastisburc*, then, I propose a conspicuous itinerary-stage site situated somewhere along the middle course of the Danube. In my view, the rock of *Děvín* close to present-day Bratislava, Slovakia, would be an ideal candidate. This site has yielded evidence of fortification activities beginning with Celtic antiquity and ending with the medieval castle whose ruins may be seen on a cliff-top above the Danube. But essentially, this is a *hapax legomenon*, with very little chance of clarification. (Fig. 11)

The 'Second Life' of Samo's Realms

After a long and peaceful rule, Samo probably passed away sometime between 655 and 660. There has been some speculation as to whether he died of old age or disease; after 660, a number of European countries were stricken by what seems to have been bubonic plague, which lasted, on and off, until at least 740. Either way, the ruler's death does not appear to have affected the structures of (western) Slav society to any considerable degree; we have seen that Bohemian integration into long distance trade circles took until at least 680. However, it emerges from archaeological sources that over the course of the seventh-century, two major

⁷⁸ See now Stadler 2003, 270–271.



Figure 11: This portrayal of Samo, the Frankish merchant, by the Bohemian painter Mikoláš Aleš (1852–1913) owes much to nineteenth-century ideas about the national past. The dignitary wears a Balkan style of dress, with a pendant around his neck which has proved to be a Hallstatt-age brooch of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. Samo's staff of office has been modeled on a pendant found at the Býčí-Skála cave in the Moravian Karst region, and dates from the sixth pre-Christian century. However Samo might have looked, this depiction is probably not particularly historically accurate (Sklenář 2003, 269).

changes took place that influenced the historical situation of both Bohemia and Moravia.

Firstly, their connections with international trade structures died out in the third quarter of the seventh-century. From that time on, we may imagine that the inhabitants of both lands were left more or less on their own.

Secondly, and more importantly, it is at the very end of the seventh-century that we see the first fortified sites in Bohemia and Moravia⁷⁹. There are several possible explanations for this.

First and foremost, it could have been a consequence of the stabilization of social positions of the earliest Slav elites in Czech territory.

Another possible explanation might lie in the threat of aggression during this period of time. Bohemia and Moravia may have become targets of slave-raiding expeditions from the south or west, Bavaria or Franconia (Frankland). Written sources offer no clues to support such an assumption. Bavarian attention was focused on the eastern border, and direct confrontation with the Avar kaganate probably constituted a fact of life on the frontier. Yet although just one Slav name is attested to in Bavarian written sources before 800⁸⁰, it does seem that slave-raiding incursions into Slav territory were a phenomenon of the time. Legal formulae like 'I captured this slave across the border where the duke led the army' show beyond all doubt that such ventures took place, and were sanctioned by the highest offices of Bavarian society. Later on, Bavarian magnates even received privileges to hunt fugitive slaves across the border⁸¹.

Albeit rather tenuous, there may be another reason for the erection of the first Bohemian and Moravian fortifications. A common assumption sees the introduction of decorated 'Prague-type' pottery as evidence of the advent of new Slav groups, acquainted with the Danubian material culture of Late Antiquity. These newcomers may very well have invaded the land with hostile intentions, and the local population may have felt the need to protect themselves behind the ramparts of fortified sites. My Austrian colleagues consider the expansion of Slav tribes into the north and west of present-day Austria, beginning around 630, to be a reality⁸². A similar situation has been observed in Greece, where a date for

⁷⁹ Bubeník 1999, 643–644., though more recent publications do show some caution as to their date: Lutovský 2005, 862.

⁸⁰ Hammer 2002, 54 ('Sasca Sclavus' in a charter dated 770).

⁸¹ Hammer 2002, 55, in general cf. *ibid.* 54–56.

⁸² Stadler 2003, 271.

undecorated 'Slav ware' sometime in the first half of the seventh-century, with the decorated variant following suit sometime after 700 and lasting as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has recently been proposed⁸³.

There are indications in favor of such an interpretation. Life in the cluster of settlement foci at Roztoky died out around the year 700. How far this might have involved the transfer of the population to the more defensible fortified site at Bohnice-Zámka, on a high rock just across the Vltava river, remains to be verified. We note here that something similar might have happened at the southern gate of the Prague basin, where while coeval rural hamlets were deserted, settlement continued on the monumental hill of Závist above Zbraslav, on the ruins of the one-time Late Hallstatt shrine and a Celtic oppidum⁸⁴.

Another indication concerns burial rites. The earliest inhabitants of medieval Bohemia and Moravia buried the cremated remains of their dead in small pottery urns, deposited in cemeteries where individual graves do not seem to have been marked in any particular manner. This burial rite underwent certain modifications at the end of the seventh-century, when the first funerary barrows of Bohemia and Moravia appear on archeological record. Such forms of burial markers probably came from the southeast, as this practice had by then died out in most of Europe⁸⁵. (Fig. 12)

Let us consider why all this might have happened. In the seventh-century, the Pontic area again became an area of conflict. The collapse of the first Turkish kaganate in the 630s triggered a civil war among its successor groups for hegemony over the region of the former state. These events were watched carefully by Byzantine diplomacy, which, of course, had much at stake; the outcome could substantially affect the destiny of the imperial populations, and even that of the empire itself. Imperial envoys approached leaders who, if befriended, could assure peace on the northern frontier. One of these was the Proto-Bulgarian kagan named Kuvrat, who may have been baptized in 619 and educated in Constantinople. Rising against the Avar supremacy sometime around 635, Kuvrat's subjects took up arms and expelled the Avars from their country. After that, an embassy sent by Kuvrat to Constantinople formed a peace treaty with Byzantium for the kagan's lifetime. In recognition of

⁸³ Vroom 2003, 52–53, 141–143, 192.

⁸⁴ Lutovský 2005, 850.

⁸⁵ Lutovský 1997, 435–436.



Figure 12: This is what an eighth-century barrow cemetery may have looked like; the site is Kožlí by Orlík (Lutovský 1996a).

this, Emperor Heraclius conferred the honorary title of patricius (πατρικιος) on Kuvrat⁸⁶. The tomb of the kagan and fine funerary gifts have been found, although some doubts have been raised as to the identity of its chief occupant⁸⁷.

Gradually, the turbulence of the Pontic civil war subsided and the power situation crystallized, though a number of ethnic groups felt the urge to leave the conflict-ridden land in search of safer havens elsewhere. The Proto-Bulgars, for instance, speaking perhaps (also) one of the Iranian dialects, took refuge on the lower Danube, where a treaty with Byzantium in 681 allowed them to take up residence. By the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the Pontic had been articulated into two power configurations; the second Turkish kaganate (around 680–744) and west of it, in the Pontic-Caspian region, the state of the Khazars, another Turkic-speaking group⁸⁸. In addition to all this, the region witnessed the first expansion of the Muslim khalifate, whose armies crossed the Caucasus at the end of seventh-century and attempted to establish an Islamic foothold in the Eurasian steppe region.

⁸⁶ Martindale-Arnold-Morris 1992 (vol. IIIB), 763.

⁸⁷ Shchukin 2007.

⁸⁸ On the Khazars see Peter B. Golden: Khazar, Encyclopaedia Islamica IV, 1172–1181, and now Galkina 2006.

Although the Muslims failed in this initial attempt, the area offered no security to its inhabitants, and a number of them might have ‘voted with their feet’ and sought refuge elsewhere. Some of their groups might even have advanced up the Danube as far as present Czech territories.

‘Old-Time Religion’

Let us briefly review the evidence we have for the religion of the earliest Slav inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia. There is in fact very little to go on, and what we do have rests on assumptions and projections of facts known from later sources. The religion of these ancestors seems to have been based on the central idea that the world is governed by an incessant struggle between good and evil, in the manner of religions known from the territory of ancient Iran. Every human being was free to join the side which he or she chose, but must have expected a just retribution at the Last Judgment. Virtually nothing is known about the ancient divinities of this period, though veneration of a god of storm, thunder and lightning of Indo-Iranian character seems likely. We also have evidence of color symbolism (negative [?] black against positive [?] white, for instance). The essential traits of Slav religion must have emerged in their original homeland. The question is the extent to which their entire religious sphere was structured, codified and articulated in a coherent set of practices (basic tenets, cult, ritual and possibly magic). It does not seem too likely. In addition to divinities, the sphere of supernatural beings included a lower order of beings, either good or evil (*běsi*). These beings might have assumed both human and animal forms, the wolf having special status comparable, perhaps, to the lion of the Christians. Practices that involved magic included thanksgiving offerings and reconciliatory and supplicatory gestures towards the spirits and the forces of nature (as in the case of rain-making, for instance).

As to rituals, we know that these included dances in which participants wore masks in impersonation of both good and evil characters and forces. There is evidence of cults of celestial bodies, atmospheric phenomena (natural elements) and natural objects (trees, springs, and so on). Whether they involved homage to a deity whose emblem was the natural entity, or worship of a being who inhabited a particular place, is not known.

It may be assumed that the first inhabitants of medieval Bohemia and Moravia were familiar with all four *rites de passage*, namely rituals

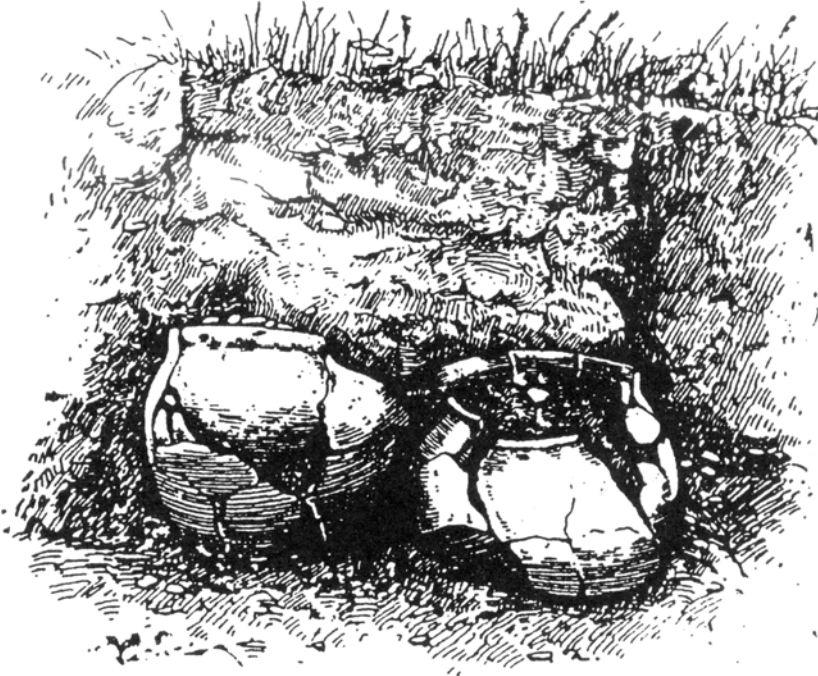


Figure 13: Two crematory urns, as excavated in a sixth to eighth-century cemetery at Přítluky by Břeclav (Měřínský 2002, 100).

accompanying birth, the attainment of maturity, the beginning of independent social life (foundation of a family) and death. Unfortunately, little more than the burial rites have survived in archeological records, but these show such a degree of consistency and longevity that we are strongly tempted to suppose the same stability for the other *rites de passage*⁸⁹. (Fig. 13)

Attempts at the First Christian Missions

Saint Martin of Braga, Portugal

One of the very first testimonies of Christianity among the Slavs is supplied by (a copy of) an ancient inscription in the cathedral of Braga or

⁸⁹ Charvát 1988, and, more recently, Wiczorek-Hinz 2000.

abbey church of Dumium in present-day Portugal, composed and carved on the orders of Saint Martin of Braga, apostle of the Germanic Suebi of Iberia (? – 579 A. D.)⁹⁰. Saint Martin of Braga was born in Pannonia (present-day Hungary) sometime during the second decade of the sixth-century. Gregory of Tours tells us that Martin was a very learned and educated man. On reaching maturity, he spent some time in one of the Christian regular institutions of the Near East, possibly in Egypt or Syria. Around 550, he sailed from the Near East to Iberia, and immediately engaged in intensive missionary activities in the then Arian kingdom of the Suebi. He succeeded in converting the king of the land and his retinue to the Catholic faith, which must have greatly enhanced his prestige. He was consecrated a bishop, most probably on April 5th, 556, and proceeded to establish a monastery at a place called Dumium near Braga⁹¹, where he erected a church and conventual buildings. The abbey church was consecrated in 558, and its furnishings and decorations included the inscription which is our point of interest. Martin, who was likely to have been elevated to the dignity of Dumium abbot, engaged in pastoral activities here, and taught and wrote religious tracts. Here he translated the famous Dicta of the Fathers of the Egyptian Desert (*Apophthegmata patrum*), and we know that he trained his pupils and successors in Greek.

Martin's surviving works show that he was not only concerned with evangelism and pastoral activities, but also with the education and culture of his *milieu*. As well as Greek, he also knew Latin literature, and some of his writings show the influence of Lucius Annaeus Seneca. Martin must have been held in esteem at the Suevic royal court of Portugal, but he also maintained correspondence with Venantius Fortunatus (530–610), 'court poet' of Abbess Radegonde of Poitiers (who died around 600). Martin's fame even reached Gregory of Tours, chronicler of the Merovingian dynasty.

Sometime between 561 and 572, Martin was elevated to the episcopal throne of Braga after the death of his predecessor in that office, Bishop Lucretius. He himself probably died on March 20th, 579, and was laid to rest in the Dumium abbey church. Today, his mortal remains may be found in St. Martha's chapel of the cathedral of Braga in Portugal.

⁹⁰ The writings of St. Martin of Braga were published by Claude Barlow (Barlow 1950). See most recently Ferreiro 1995, and also Handley 2003, 57–60, 142.

⁹¹ In consequence of this, Latin sources sometimes call him *Martinus Dumiensis*.

The inscription ‘In Basilica’, which concerns us here was most probably composed by Martin between the years 556 and 558 in twenty dactylic hexameters. Gregory of Tours refers to this inscription as situated *super ostium ... a parte meridiana in basilica sancti Martini*. This was originally understood to denote a Tours church, but Claude Barlow argued that it can only pertain to one of the Suebic sites, either Braga or Dumium, and his interpretation has prevailed ever since. The text professes the glory of St. Martin (of Tours) radiating far and wide, to the north, south, east and west, and celebrates his victory among the Suebi, who can now call him their patron. Martin lists the nations who owe gratitude to St. Martin for their entry into Christendom, using a similar poem by Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont in Gaul (432–479), as his model. Martin’s text contains only three additions to Sidonius’s list, but unfortunately all three are *hapax legomena*, entirely out of any information context: *Sclavus, Nara, Datus*. This is, in fact, the earliest reference to European Slavs, and Christian converts at that. Prior to leaving Pannonia, Martin must have met some Slavs who had already accepted the Christian creed.

Let us note *en passant* that this ancient *scriptura* may even have been accompanied by a *pictura*. Modern research has identified a Late Antiquity model for the famous miniature of four provinces of the Christian world that pay homage to Emperor Otto III (996–1002) and adorn his Gospel book. These are personifications of the capital cities of the Roman empire in an imperial calendar of 354⁹². We may therefore nurture the hope that one day, some work of art may be identified as that accompanying the ‘In Basilica’ inscription of St. Martin of Braga, and thus learn how an artist of Late Antiquity imagined the earliest Slavs of Europe.

Post evangelicum bissemi dogma senatus,
 Quod regnum Christi toto iam personat orbe,
 Postque sacrum Pauli stilum, quo curia mundi
 Victa suos tandem stupuit siluisse sophistas,
 Arctous, Martine, tibi in extrema recessus,
 Panditur inque via fidei patet in via tellus.
 Virtutum signis meritorum et laude tuorum
 Excitat affectum Christi Germania fricens,
 Flagrat, et accenso Divini Spiritus igne
 Solvit ab infenso obstrictas Aquilone pruinas.

⁹² Fauvarque 2001, 568, fn. 64 with ref., for the calendar itself and the personifications of Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople and Trier see Stern 1953, 124–144.

Immanes variasque pio sub foedere Christi
 Adsciscis gentes. Alamannus, Saxo, Toringus,
 Pannonius, Rugus, Sclavus, Nara, Sarmata, Datus,
 Ostrogothus, Francus, Burgundio, Dacus, Alanus,
 Te duce, nosse Deum gaudent. Tua signa Suevus
 Admirans didicit fideo quo tramite pergat,
 Devotusque tuis meritis haec atria claro
 Culmine sustollens, Christi venerabile templum
 Constituit, quo clara vigens, Martine, tuorum
 Gratia signorum votis te adesse fatetur
 Electum, propriumque tenet te Gallia gaudens
 Pastorem, teneat Gallicia tota patronum.

The 'In Basilica' inscription (Barlow 1950, 282)⁹³.

What, if anything, can we gather about the first wave of Slavs who traveled to Pannonia before 550? Some information is provided by the biography of a Gepid leader named Mundo or Mundus (480–490 – 536). Although he was the son of a Gepid king of the northern Balkans, Mundo lost the right to ascend to his ancestral throne after the defeat of the Gepids by the Ostrogoths in 488. Sometime around 500, he left the Gepid *milieu* and became chief of an armed band of irregulars in Pannonia. Mundo soon came into conflict with the Byzantine administration, which he avoided by joining Theodorich's Ostrogoth host, who defeated Byzantine forces on the now Serbian river of Morava. Mundo re-appears in the 520s as a commander of the Gepids and Heruls in Pannonia, and in 529 we see him in Byzantine service as a commanding officer of the Illyricum province. In this role he defended the province against a Slav attack, and in 630 he was victorious over the Bulgars who made an armed incursion into Thrace. For a short time he occupied the post of commander of the entire Orient (*magister militum per Orientem*), and he took (fairly brutal) action against the *Nika* insurgency of 532. In 535, he received orders to move into Dalmatia, occupy Spalato (Split) and fight in the Goth wars. Mundo lost his son during a Goth counter-offensive in 536. Overwhelmed by grief and rage, he threw himself into the middle of the fighting, and though the battle was victorious, he was killed in the pursuit of fleeing Goths⁹⁴.

⁹³ A translation of this poem into Czech was undertaken by my learned friends and colleagues Martin Bažil and Jan Zdichynec - to whom I acknowledge my debt of gratitude here - and published in Charvát 2007a, 322 fn. 12.

⁹⁴ Martindale-Arnold-Morris 1992 (vol. IIIB), 903–905.

It has to be said that this report does not much advance our progress; as far as the most ancient Slavs of Europe are concerned, there are only shreds of evidence to go on.

Saint Columban

Further attempts to convert the Slavs took place some quarter of a century later. The initiative came from the untiring King Dagobert, who thought it expedient to bring the inhabitants of eastern Europe, his strategic target, into line with the scale of values and essential intellectual and spiritual orientations of the Merovingian world.

The first steps were made by a personage of wide renown, Columban of Leinster, the future Saint Columban (543–616). In 610 and 611, Columban, one of the foremost representatives of Irish missionary monkhood in Europe, sojourned in Bregenz on the Bodensee⁹⁵. At that time, he deliberated upon the future course of his activities. His biographer, Jonas of Bobbio, tells us that the monk considered going to evangelize the Slavs. In the end, however, he decided to proceed to Italy where he established the Bobbio monastery. He lived in this regular house until his death in 616.

Columban was a typical proponent of the creed of Jesus Christ in new times, when Pope Gregory the Great saw the most urgent task of the day as the propagation of Christianity in the old and irreparably defunct world of Late Antiquity. This would be carried out by missionaries of pure zeal and holy men of irreproachable sainthood, and Columban appears to be one such man; uncompromising, deeply dedicated and full of vigor. He urged his followers to abandon any attempts to probe the unfathomable depths of God's existence and to believe simply but firmly that: 'God is namely such as he is and always was, for he remains unchangeable'. The first Christian virtue that Columban asks of his flock is the humility (*humilitas*) that results from turning away from the physical world. This world presents nothing but shadows and delusions, and is a mere preparation for the next life. All Christians must constantly fight the inclination towards evil, which Columban goes so far as to see in the enjoyment of amusing reading, or in chatting about somebody in their absence. According to Columban, the whole of human life should be dedicated to moving closer to Jesus Christ. Columban

⁹⁵ On this personage see Richter 1996, 64–66.

demanded that Christians not only be familiar with holy scriptures, but also lead, as completely and fully as possible, a life of privation.

A number of his followers and acquaintances were amazed at the passion with which Columban mortified his body and turned his mind towards the Christian God. They found it hard to follow such a life, but such strict devotion secured Columban a reputation of great sainthood and immaculate Christianity.

The Irish monk did not conceal the gaps in his education but for him, the main source of knowledge was the Gospel, especially the psalms. Columban considered the greatest spiritual possession to be total dedication to the Christian religion. He expressed his firm hope that the Christian God would fulfill the hopes of all those who loved him, and reveal how the secrets of his faith should be understood. In his own words addressed to the Highest: 'we ask Thee to comprehend what we love' (*te rogamus, ut sciamus, quod amamus*).

Columban demonstrated a strong conviction about the universality of the Christian message and its importance for all the nations of the world: 'Do not believe that we deem ourselves to be other than you. We are all members of the same body (*commembra*), whether Gaulish, British, Irish or sons of whatever nation.'

Another distinctive feature of Columban's Christianity was the deep veneration which he showed towards Rome as the center of Christianity, and especially the pontifical office. He expressed such feelings in a rather Byzantine sounding panegyric about the importance and role of the papacy: 'It is in thine power to arrange all things, to conduct war, to stir up the leaders one against another, to order the destruction of entire armies, to put up battle lines, to let trumpets sound from all sides, and finally, to proceed into battle.' He wrote these words to a Pope Boniface, presumably the fourth of that name (608–615). They are somewhat puzzling as in the seventh-century, the papacy was held in particularly low esteem and exposed to a climate of dramatic changes, Rome only survived with great difficulty. Perhaps Columban wished to recall Saint Peter's ancient glory or, as a native of a particularly distant province, he felt excessive respect towards the center of the religion to which he had dedicated himself.

Without doubt, Columban would find the contemporary world incomprehensible, just as we would find it difficult to communicate with him. Let us console ourselves with the fact that in his life, he reproached himself for his excessive inclination to talk (*loquacitas*), and that he perceived his own role as that of one who: 'always provoked, questioned, and proposed' (*meum fuit provocare, interrogare, rogare*).

Saint Amand and his Mission to the Slavs

Shortly after Columban's departure for Italy, another man of faith who preferred action to words took the eastern path. This was (Saint) Amand (584? – 675 or 679)⁹⁶.

Amand also started his journey on the Bodensee. His biographer tells us that somewhere between 625 and 630, he set forth to bring tidings of Jesus Christ to the Slavs. Amand sailed the Danube as far east as possible, and then crossed the river to preach the Gospel to the resident Slav population, without any noticeable success. On his return to the Merovingian empire, he became a bishop of Tongres (Tongeren) or Maastricht in present-day Belgium. Here he preached, taught and managed his episcopal see and also later died. The fact is that Amand wasn't particularly successful in his pastoral activities either, and not even the 'priests and Levites' of his bishopric bothered to visit his church and listen to his sermons.

The fact that he had to cross the Danube in order to convert the Slavs has some significance. The eighth-century *Vita Amandi*, which supplies this information, was written south of the river, somewhere in present-day Switzerland (in Sankt-Gallen?). The missionary must therefore have gone north, and addressed the Slavs of northern Austria(?), south Moravia or even Slovakia. What is interesting is that we hear nothing about the possible engagement of King Samo who must have ruled during the same period of time. Did Amand's mission involve a territory outside Samo's realm?

It is difficult to fathom why Amand's mission failed. His audience probably consisted of the 'new Slavs' who had come from the lower Danube, and not those of the 'old stock', who lived in Pannonia and were referred to by Martin of Braga.

Let us conclude this chapter, however, with a bit of *licentia poetica*. Imagine that we are in the seventh-century, and that we have been fortunate enough to be present when a holy man offers to preach a sermon on Jesus Christ and his creed. Having found a comfortable seat on a grassy spot by the road, we now listen to the eloquent words of this venerable Christian minister. The speech he delivers dates back to the end of the sixth-century⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ For references see Charvát 1999a, 9, see also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_Amand.

⁹⁷ This sermon consists of quotations from a famous homily by St. Martin of Braga entitled *De correctione rusticorum* (Barlow 1950, 159–203). Initially preached

After the deluge, the human kind was again salvaged through three sons of Noe who were preserved with their spouses. And as the ever growing multitudes started to fill the world, people forgot again the Creator of this world, God, and forgoing the Creator, began to worship created things. Some worshipped the sun, some the moon or stars, some bowed to fire, some to deep waters or springs thereof, believing not that all this was created by God for the use of the human kind, but that all those, having emerged by themselves, were gods.

And it came to pass that the devil and his servants, the demons, thrown out of heaven, perceiving the ignorant folk forgoing God, their Creator, and erroneously worshipping created things, started to reveal themselves in various forms to the people, to talk to them and to demand from them to offer them sacrifices in mountain peaks, or in shady forests, and to worship them as gods, appropriating the names of notorious men and women, living their lives in all kinds of crime and vice. One called himself Jove, a magician, and fallen into such adultery that he took his own sister, called Juno, for wife. He defiled Minerva and Venus, his daughters, and he fornicated with his nieces and with his entire kin. Another demon called himself Mars, and became overlord of contests and discord. Still another demon desired to be named Mercurius, and he was the doleful inventor of all theft and fraud. To him greedy people offer sacrifices as if to the god of gain, when they pass crossroads, throwing stones on the tops of the rocks. And another demon appropriated for himself the name of Saturn, who, living in highest cruelty, devoured his freshly born children. Another demon assumed the form of Venus, who was a harlot woman. She laid down not only with innumerable adulterers, but even with her own father Jove, and with her own brother Mars.

...(Devils) do, however, not inflict damages without God's permission, as the people have an angry god and do not believe in the faith of Christ wholeheartedly, but doubt in such a manner that they give the names of such devilish apparitions to particular days, calling them Mars's day (Tuesday, pch), Mercury's day (Wednesday, pch), Jove's day (Thursday, pch), Venus's day (Friday, pch) and Saturn's day (Saturday, pch), who were no gods but were exceedingly bad and vicious people in the nation of the Greeks.

...Similarly, an error befalls the ignorant and the rural folk in such a manner that they hold the first January to be the beginning of the year, which is supreme falsedom. The beginning of the first year was made on the 21st of March, as says the holy scripture. We read there: 'And God divided the light from the darkness' (Gen I: 4, pch). Now every correct

somewhere in Spanish Galicia around 572, the sermon enjoyed considerable popularity in the Middle Ages. It was copied in French Normandy, Swabian Reichenau, Anglo-Saxon England and medieval Norway. It is thus legitimate to assume that the text was frequently used, and we may imagine that Danubian Slavs could hear sermons of this kind from missionaries of their age.

division is in equal parts, much as the day and the night have the same number of hours on March 21st. Thus it is false to assume that the year begins on January 1st.

...And for that cause, as God saw the miserable folk thus befallen by evil from the devil and his envoys, that forgetting their own Creator, worshipped demons as God, He sent out his own son, that is, his wisdom and word, to lead them back to the worship of true God from the diabolical error. And as people could not bodily see the divine status of the Son of God, he took upon himself the fleshly form in the womb of Virgin Mary, not of the embrace of man, but conceived by the Holy Spirit. Born thus in a human body, the Son of God, up to then hidden and invisible God, but afterwards a visible human being, preached to the people. He taught them to avoid the idols and evil deeds, and thus to shed the power of the devil, and to return to the worship of their Creator. After He had preached his doctrines, He wished to die for humankind. He passed away voluntarily, not sentenced; Jews crucified him under the judge Pilatus Pontius, a native of the Pontic province, who directed at that time the Syrian province. Taken off the cross, He was laid in his tomb; alive, he rose from the dead on the third day, and conversed for forty days with his twelve disciples, and ate before his disciples in order to demonstrate that his real body was resurrected. After the passage of forty days, he instructed his disciples to announce to all nations the resurrection of the Son of God, and to baptize them in the name of the Father and Son and the Holy Spirit for the forgiving of sins, and to teach those who were baptized to avoid evil deeds such as idol worship, murder, theft, perjury, fornication, and not to do to others what they did not wish to be done to themselves.

...When the end of this world will draw near, all the nations and all the people descended from these first humans, namely Adam and Eve, will rise from the dead, good and evil; all of them will come to the judgement of Christ, and then those who had been faithful and good in their lives will be separated from the evil ones, and will enter the kingdom of God with holy angels, and their souls with their bodies will be in eternal rest, not to die any more, where there will be neither toil nor pain for any of them, no sorrow, no hunger or thirst, no heat, no coldness, no darkness or night, but, always joyous, sated, in light, in glory, they will be like unto the angels of God, as they will have already merited the entry into that place from which the devil with similarly minded angels had fallen.

...And those who did not believe, or were not baptized, or, even if baptized, returned to idol worship, murders, or adultery, or to perjury, or to other evil deeds after baptism, and who died without penitence, all who will be found in such a state shall be damned with the devil and with all the devilishness that they had worshipped, and for whom they had worked, and their bodies shall be dispatched to eternal fire in hell where this inextinguishable fire burns for eternity, and their bodies, rendered unto them in resurrection, shall be tormented for ever in lamentation. They will desire death to avoid the pains, but they will not be allowed to die, in order to bear punishment for ever.

... Prepare your way by good works. Frequent churches or places of saints to pray there. Do not condemn Sunday, which is called the Lord's day (dominicus) because the Son of God, our lord Jesus Christ, rose from the dead on that day, but hold it in reverence. Servile labour, that is, work in fields, in meadows or in vineyards, or any kind of toil, is not to be done on Sunday, except that which belongs to the refreshment of our little bodies, in matter of food and all what is necessary for our journey. If you travel to the neighbourhood on Sunday, do not do so for evil purposes, but rather in good, namely to visit saintly places, or to see a brother or a relative, or to give consolation to a sick person, or to extend help or counsel to one who suffers for a good cause. This is the appropriate way to celebrate Sunday for Christians. There is enough injustice and ignominy if those who are pagans and ignore the Christian faith, worshipping the pagan idols, celebrate the day of Jove or any other demon, and avoid work, as the devilishness did certainly neither create any day, nor have it. And we, who worship the true God, and believe that the Son of God rose from the dead, have almost ceased to celebrate the day of His resurrection, that is, Sunday!

... We then pray to the Lord for clemency, so that He might guard you from all evil, and make you worthy companions of His holy angels in His kingdom, directed by Him who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

St. Martin of Braga, *De Correctione Rusticorum*, Barlow 1950, 186–203.

CHAPTER 2

THE EIGHTH-CENTURY: LET THIS BE OUR HOMELAND

‘We praise Mithra, to whom
The lord of the land appeals for help,
The lord of the province appeals for help,
The lord of the village appeals for help,
The lord of the house appeals for help.’

In the eighth-century, the main concern of the Czech population was learning how to live in their chosen land. They acquainted themselves with the nature of the landscape and with indigenous flora and fauna, and adjusted themselves to the extremes of the local climate. Gradually, they learned about the varying quality of arable soil, and could thus decide which regions were best for cultivating crops and gardens, which were better suited to keeping livestock, and which were not worth the work. Mastering drainage, the new residents of this hilly central European country explored the natural resources which were at their disposal.

The inhabitants of the Czech lands naturally knew all the essential craft and production techniques familiar to their neighbors. Agriculturalists produced more than enough to feed their own families; housekeepers cultivated garden plots, and poorer or sloping soils lent themselves to keeping cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. In winter, shepherds herded their animals into protected lowland valleys while in late spring, they took them to the hills and mountains where they could graze on fresh pastures. The parts of the landscape which were not cultivated provided the eighth-century diet with game, wildfowl, fish and other aquatic comestibles. There were also wild fruits to gather and bees to keep.

Remember...When Jesus ascended from earth into heaven, he decreed thee to dwell here, not to fly away into the woods, to remain here, not to take residence in woods, to avoid all hollow trees and others' gardens [pigarton]. Here thou hast that man who provides for thee. He will give thee this receptacle which had belonged to Saint Martin. Thither thou hast

to bring wax and [uunni] and thus to procure candles [steccandela] for Virgin Mary and the altar of the church.

Latin-language Blessing of Bees with Old High German Expressions; tenth-twelfth century¹.

The task of cooking and preparing all these foods for the dinner table fell to the women of the household. With none of the mechanical equipment that we have today, this was very hard work, and sometimes the men of the house, seeing how their loved ones toiled, put their hands to work to lighten their load.

A written source from a later period has preserved for us a charming episode from the life of a Slav peasant family that depicts this kind of marital relationship. It tells of a man and his wife who took up residence in a wooded area in one of the eastern European countries, where they lived by agricultural means. The husband felt sorry for his wife, who had to labor to prepare meals from flour ground on a primitive stone device. This induced him to make her a quern from two stones, one of which remained stationary while the other rotated. The quern was operated by a handle, so the wife no longer had to kneel to do the work. The lady was not exactly bright, however, and could not work out how to use this new device. When her husband later came home and found that she hadn't prepared any dinner, he decided to take the matter into his own hands. He is then reported to have said to her: '*Day ut ia pobrusa a ti poziwai*' ('Let me do the grinding, and you take a rest'), which became the habit. In the end, people began to ask who was the master and who the mistress in a house where the womanly task of corn-grinding was done by a man, and he became the laughing stock of the neighborhood. The man called Bohukhval thus got the nickname Brukal (miller or grinder), and the village established by their sons, where the couple's descendants lived, was known as Brucalizi. (Brukalice in Poland exists to this day.)²

Craftspeople providing households of both the high and low orders worked with a whole range of materials that could be treated using coeval technologies. They used clay principally for pottery production, either by free-hand modeling or by turning on a slow wheel. Stone served for building fortifications and household objects (kilns), or for manufacturing technical equipment such as the quern mentioned above. Bone was used to produce pointed tools such as awls, bodkins and needles, and also in wide, flat segments to create shaping tools and

¹ Bischoff 1984b.

² Dembińska 1977.

spatulas. The craftsmen were privy to a wide range of metallurgical procedures such as smelting, cold and hot hammering, mold casting, gilding, repoussé and openwork, processing ferrous, non-ferrous and precious metals. Organic materials such as wood, leather and textiles were very popular. Wood served as an almost universal material; indeed, eighth-century life took place in a virtually all-wood setting, from cradle to funeral pyre. These people were undoubtedly aware of the cattle-keepers' maxim that: 'untanned leather will stand anything'. Leather helped to fashion wrappings and containers, heavy-duty clothing, coats, boots, and also special masks. With regard to the latter, let us consider the philological derivation of the Czech name for devil, 'čert', from a substantive noun 'črt', meaning 'feature', 'wrinkle', 'stroke', 'sketched line' and so on. This might have referred to the cracked and warped masks, possibly of leather or bark, worn by ceremonial dancers impersonating celestial, terrestrial or infernal demons. A depiction of such a masked shaman or 'devil dancer' has survived on the base of a pot from the Moravian site of Mikulčice.

The most laborious household chore must have been the manufacture of textiles. It was the job of the mistress of the house to clothe her family, which was undoubtedly a long and tiring business. The spinning of thread of raw flax, wool and hemp had to be done manually, and the kilometers of thread, out of which all textiles for the family clothing came, had to be spun and reeled on a spindle turned by a gyroscopic device a spindle whorl, many examples of which turn up in archeological excavations. Let us note, however, that according to modern ethnological observations, gentlemen spun thread at least as well as ladies in many pre-industrial societies.

The thread was then spread on a weaving loom to make textiles, most often in the form of a basic module, an oblong of fabric measuring about 100 × 140 cm. These 'pleny' (Old Czech) were either worn as items of clothing, as loin-cloths or head-scarves, for instance, or used in the creation of other garments³.

It is worth noting that specialized weaving work of supreme quality existed during this period north and northwest of the Czech lands. Such 'indestructible' fabrics (referred to in written sources as *pallia fresonica*) were deemed worthy to be sent by Charlemagne to Harun ar-Rashid, caliph of Baghdad, as a notable rarity and gift of honor. In comparison

³ On early medieval textile crafts see Březinová 1997, and also the review in her latest publication: Březinová 2007.

with such superior craftsmanship, our textiles make a very poor show. Well, no man (or woman) is master of all crafts.

Overland Trade

Inhabitants of eighth-century Bohemia and Moravia lived in a self-sufficient environment, producing the vast majority of their own goods.

There were, however, exceptions to this rule. The elite groups of society had to be seen to be different from the rest. In order to distinguish themselves from the commoners, they had to wear different clothes made of different materials, be seen in possession of different goods from most people, live in different houses which were furnished in different ways; and last but not least, they had to be distinguished by the meals served at their tables to attendants, friends and worthy visitors, and by the manner in which these were presented and eaten. All these material indicators of superior social status determined how one behaved towards the elite and signified their right to command. In Latin, such a social position received the apt name of *potestas imperii*.

Elites of eighth-century Bohemia and Moravia also indicated their status by the import of rare goods from other countries. Such commodities, delivered by merchants or conferred as gifts of honor by representatives of foreign powers, or by allies abroad, proved beyond all doubt that their consumers did indeed belong to the higher strata of contemporary society⁴.

During this time, central Europe received precious goods predominantly from the eastern parts of the Eurasian continent. First and foremost, these included fine textiles – finished robes, or rolls, of silk or of gold-woven brocade and the like. Unfortunately, no direct evidence of them has survived from Bohemia and Moravia, but we do have proof that such rarities circulated close to the Czech borders. Shreds of silk textiles survived from seventh and eighth-century cemeteries in contemporary Slovakia, east of Moravia⁵. In 739-740, the papal missionary, St. Boniface or Wynfrith, introduced the first ecclesiastical organization to Bavaria, establishing bishoprics in Salzburg, Passau, Regensburg and Freisingen. Inspired by this act, the Bishop of Regensburg decided to

⁴ On this in general, Charvát 1998.

⁵ Březinová 1997, 147 (Želovce, Slovakia, graves 442 and 818).

build a new cathedral for his episcopal see and to provide a worthy sepulcher for Regensburg's greatest treasure, the relics of St. Emmeram, the cathedral's patron saint. It is most likely then that the relics were wrapped in the precious textiles which survive to this day – silks made in Sogd⁶, Syria, eastern Iran and possibly Turkestan⁷. Although we have failed to document such treasures from the Czech lands, their occurrence here shows what kind of luxury goods could be had in markets close to the Czech borders – and powerful men and women of Bohemia and Moravia could certainly have acquired such commodities⁸.

Let us note *en passant* the life and deeds of the patron saint of the Bavarian church. St. Emmeram (Haimhrammus) of Regensburg was born in an unknown year in Aquitaine, in Poitiers, according to legend. He died in the year 652. The descendant of a noble family, Emmeram entered the Church and is reported to have once stood as a candidate for the Poitiers episcopal throne. Upon hearing rumors of idolatry in Bavaria, however, the young priest decided to take action against such unseemliness. Setting forth on a journey along the Loire river, he crossed the Schwarzwald mountains and sailed the Danube as far as Regensburg, where he was graciously received by Theodo I, duke of Bavaria. For three years, Emmeram preached and performed missionary work throughout the duke's realms, and acquired a reputation for being a most pious man. Then, however, he became involved in an unforeseen and unpleasant incident. Uta, the duke's daughter, found herself pregnant; legend has it that the father was one Sigipald, Duke Theodo's retainer. Motivated by Christian charity, Emmeram told Uta to name himself as the father of the unborn child. Emmeram then left on a pilgrimage to Rome, and it was during his absence that Uta broke this 'news'. Lantpert, the duke's son, was so incensed that he ambushed Emmeram outside what is now the city of Munich, on an old Roman road called Via Julia, between Augsburg and Salzburg. Lantpert ordered that Emmeram be stretched on a torture rack, after which he hacked off parts of the missionary's

⁶ The land in central Asia between the Amudarya (Oxus) and Syrdarya (Iaxartes) rivers, in present-day Turkmenistan.

⁷ See Herrmann-von Wilckens 1989.

⁸ Most of the textiles of eastern origin imported into early medieval Europe fall into the period between 600- and 807 A.D. (Verbecken-Lammens et al. 2006, 274; Martiniani-Reber 2004, 119 fn. 34 - up to c. 850). The image of a duck wearing a necklace with three pendants, depicted in the Gellona Sacramentary of the end of the eighth-century, might have been copied from an Oriental textile: *ibid.*, 252, 254 Fig. 6.

body. Emmeram's friends, Vitalis and Wolffete, found him lying in his own blood, and although they brought him to safety as soon as possible, Emmeram died shortly afterwards. His body was first buried at Aschheim, at the place where he died, but forty days of rain reportedly followed and after this, his corpse was raised from the grave and put on a raft borne by the Isara river. The craft immediately set into motion, and miraculously propelled, floated into the Danube and up river to Regensburg, where the dead churchman was buried in a church of St. George. Only later did Bishop Gawibald finally lay the martyr's body to rest in a church specially established for that purpose⁹.

Another type of eighth-century luxury goods were spices, often used in the kitchens of the land's elite households to add flavor to meals. During this period, such luxuries circulated in the heart of Europe, in regions of what is now central and southern Germany. Local prelates acquired some spices from the papal court in Rome, and in other instances delivered them personally to their relatives and friends in England, for instance¹⁰. We know that by this time, limited quantities of spices were available in Mediterranean markets; however, we know little about their circulation along the Atlantic coast of Europe towards the Baltic sea. We must therefore seek their origin in the east, where they may have been supplied by merchants and traders dealing along the Eurasian transcontinental route which, in the nineteenth-century, became known as the Silk Road. It is possible that Avar entrepreneurs, Turkic-speaking nomads who established a khanate in the central Danube basin (present-day Hungary and Serbia) entered into commercial partnerships with their colleagues residing, or active in, the territory of another Turkic-speaking khanate, that of the Khazars located between the Black and Caspian seas. Merchants of the Khazar khanate (existing around 650-965) certainly had access to the valuables that traveled along the Silk Road, and they could have launched a successful commercial venture marketing such goods further westward, into the European part of the continent.

We must also mention the luxury building materials brought from distant lands into central Europe. Egyptian *porfido rosso*, mined in the Mons Porphyrites west of Hurghada in Egypt, served to decorate a pavement and possibly an altar of St. Michael's chapel in the Frauenwörth

⁹ See, in general, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emmeram>.

¹⁰ Claude 1985, 143 fn. 84b, as well as Sims-Williams 1976, 20.

Abbey in Bavaria, established by Duke Tassilo III in 782; he may have procured the stone to honor the new foundation¹¹. Bavarian find contexts of the same age have also yielded samples of *porfido verde* mined at Crocaem in Lacedaimon, south of the Greek city of Sparta, and of *verde antico* from eastern Thessaly, northeast of the city of Larissa in Greece¹², and *Porfido verde* slabs have turned up at the trading *emporium* of Hedeby¹³.

Coeval contacts between central Europe and the Eastern world have recently been illuminated by the discovery of an Islamic glass amulet seal, set in a cross brooch which was found in Ireland but possibly made on the continent¹⁴.

Unfortunately, we know very little about the Avar trade. All that we have is the testimony of an anonymous Avar prisoner of war captured by the Bulgarians in the final phase of the Avar khanate's struggle for survival. Asked by the khan of the Bulgars what had caused the fall of this once powerful state, he replied that it had been brought about by disunity, too much wine drinking and too heavy an engagement in trade¹⁵.

Contacts between Bohemia and the East are borne out by a tiny but most valuable find, a copper Arab coin (*fals*), discovered by chance at the site of Čelákovice east of Prague. This coin was recently dated by Mr. Vlastimil Novák, an expert in Islamic numismatics, as belonging to the late Umayyad or early Abbasid period, probably to the second half of eighth or beginning of the ninth-century¹⁶. While it is, unfortunately, an isolated find, it does indicate contacts with the superpower of the period, the Muslim caliphate.

Let us note here that Muslim coins from the late eighth-century have turned up in the southern regions of the Carpathian basin, particularly Serbia¹⁷. Of interest here is also the fact that from the end of eighth to the end of ninth-century, most of the contacts between distant regions such as Inner Asia, for instance, and the Muslim world focused

¹¹ Dannheimer 2006, 287, 290.

¹² Dannheimer 2006, 287-290. On the sites of occurrence of Larissa stone, including the Dome on the Rock in Jerusalem, the Great Mosque at Cordoba, and Charlemagne's palace at Aachen see now Melfos 2008, 396-397.

¹³ Dannheimer 2006, 291.

¹⁴ Porter-Ager 1999.

¹⁵ Mayr-Harting 1996, 132.

¹⁶ Profantová-Novák 2005.

¹⁷ Curta 2006b, 94 fn. 59 (nine gold coins from a grave at Petrovci minted between 762 and 794 or 799, two more from the vicinity of Novi Sad, Vojvodina, minted between 763 and 775).

at the center of the caliphate, and communications were essentially centripetal¹⁸.

It is to be regretted that eighth-century evidence of long-distance trade is virtually non-existent. Despite this, however, there are indications that luxury goods may have circulated at this time in Bohemia and Moravia. For instance, some unusually shaped common pottery seems to imitate pedestalled vessels. Such items, often made of precious metals such as gold and silver, served on the dinner tables of both western and eastern potentates. The western elites used precious tableware from the Roman age, while those of the east used opulent tableware made by skilled craftsmen trained in the Sasanian applied-art tradition. A hoard of such tableware, showing the immense wealth of the courts of eastern Europe rulers, was discovered at a place once called Nagyszentmiklós, now Sânnicolau Mare, in Rumania¹⁹. (Fig. 19) Items of this gold tableware bear inscriptions in several scripts including Greek. Although reading and understanding these inscriptions has occupied scholars for generations, they have failed to arrive at commonly held conclusions. What can be gathered, however, is that the inscriptions refer to personages from eastern Europe, and also from western and possibly central Asia. Another example of the Avar khanate courtly culture has surfaced in a hoard of gold jewelery and dress items found some time ago at a site called Vrap in present-day Albania²⁰. These ornaments also constitute clear proof of the high cultural standards of the rich and powerful magnates of eastern Europe, who set an example of elite behavior to their attendants and followers. (Fig. 15)

Sogdians?

It cannot be excluded that such exquisite wares were brought to central Europe by foreign merchants. At this time, it is difficult to expect Jews,

¹⁸ de la Vaissière 2002, 291-292.

¹⁹ The literature is abundant; among the most recent contributions see Dobrev 2003, also Helimski 2000, and Bálint 2006, as well as Curta 2006b, 94. On the bull-shaped vessel from the hoard see now Melikian-Chirvani 1991. Such ostentatious finds are by no means exceptional in areas reached by Sasanian and post-Sasanian influences: in north-eastern Russia, the Kama- river basin yielded 41 luxury items of this kind imported before 700 (of which 5 display central Asian inscriptions, and 75% apparently came through central Asian trade), and 82 Iranian and Byzantine pieces imported before 800, of which 45% came through central Asian trade: de la Vaissière 2002, 245-246.

²⁰ For the essential data see Swoboda 1991.

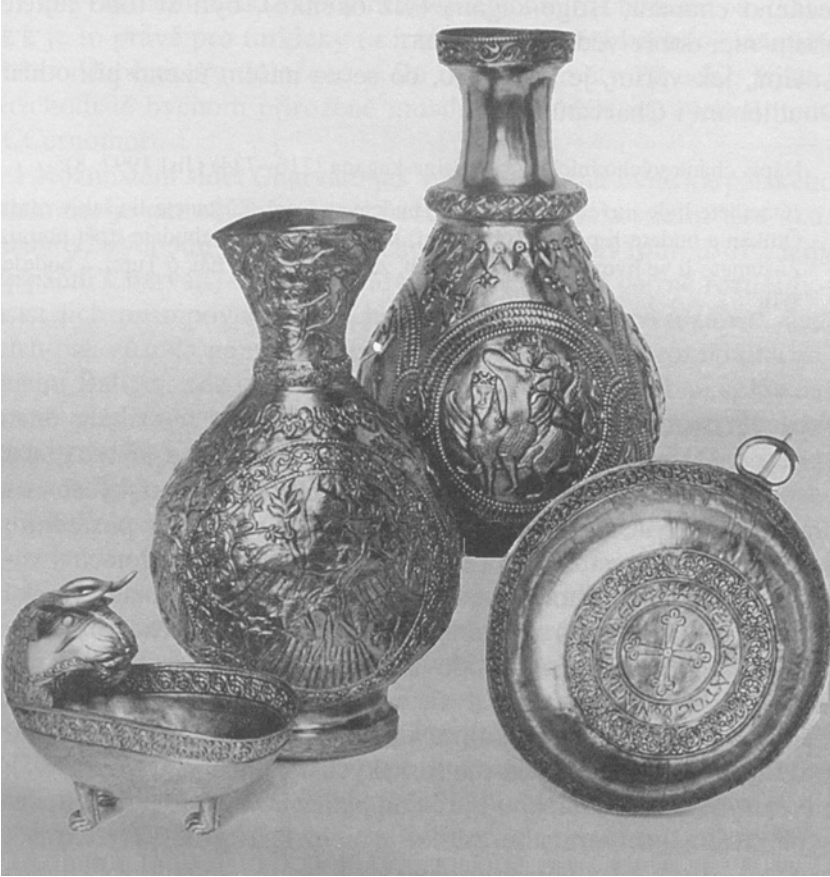


Figure 19: A sample of luxury gold tableware found at Sănnicolau Mare (one-time Nagyszentmiklós), Romania, from the late eighth-century (Böhner-Ellmers-Weidemann 1970, p. 173).

and enterprising Sogdian traders are more likely candidates²¹. Particularly in the sixth to eighth centuries, these intrepid and adventurous people operated from their homeland between the Amudarya and Syrdarya rivers in central Asia (present-day Turkmenistan) as far as China in one direction and the Crimea on the other. As early as the seventh-century, Sogdian nobles laid to rest in the Guyuan cemetery in northwestern China were bestowed with Sasanian silver coins and imitations of

²¹ On these see now de la Vaissière 2002, esp. pp. 237-242 on their presence in the Pontic.



Figure 15: Exquisite gold Avar belt accessories, from a hoard find discovered at Vrap, Albania (Swoboda 1991, 598, Fig. 377).

Byzantine gold coins for their final journey²². One of these nobles, Shi Hedan, an official interpreter of the imperial court who died in 669 at the age of eighty six, was accompanied to the grave by a seal inscribed with Middle Persian script²³. Our evidence includes a reference in the biography of a Buddhist monk, Amoghavajra, born in 705 in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) to a Northern Indian father and a Sogdian mother²⁴; and also Sogdian inscriptions found burnt into pieces of sandalwood which are deposited in the Shosoin treasury of Todaiji, Nara, Japan²⁵.

Sogdians dealt predominantly in silk, precious stones, fragrant substances and slaves. They distinguished themselves by their high level of tolerance, by their understanding of a number of contemporary world religions, and by their eagerness for new knowledge. Sogdians professed Mazdaism (Zoroastrianism), Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism, and the essentials of culture and spirituality of ancient Greece and Rome were by no means alien to them. They put down

²² de la Vaissière 2002, 208-210.

²³ de la Vaissière 2002, 209.

²⁴ de la Vaissière 2002, 95.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

memorable things in their own writing, based on the Syrian script, and their Indo-European idiom served as a language all along the northern Silk Road. This has been clearly proven by the surprising new discovery of rock inscriptions, including communications in Sogdian and one Hebrew graffito²⁶, in the high ranges of the Karakorum mountains on the present Indo-Chinese border²⁷. Many Sogdians lived in the central Asian city of Choresm, which later supplied financial and banking advisers to the medieval kingdom of Hungary²⁸. The Sogdians often kept company with Turkic-speaking nomadic groups with whom they maintained very close contact. They made regular business trips to the Khazarian khanate between the Black and Caspian seas (and may even have taken over their commercial affairs altogether)²⁹ and to the Caucasus, and they also maintained contact with Byzantium through their colonies in the Crimea.

Frisians

It came as some surprise to us in recent years that this particular period also saw the emergence of another phase of regular trade contacts between the Czech lands and western Europe. Thanks to the diligence and keen sight of my learned friend and colleague, Nad'a Profantová (of the Archeological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague), fragments of large transport jars (amphorae) and their imitations came to light among earlier archeological finds from walled sites along the eastern periphery of central Bohemia³⁰. (Fig. 14)

Such pottery vessels, whose ribbed bodies were decorated with roller impressions, present no problem to archeological knowledge. The jars, which date to the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, were used by western, and particularly Frisian, merchants, to deliver supplies of the most palatable wines from the vineyards on the slopes of the river Rhine. Their activities are thoroughly attested to by archeological excavations of the early medieval commercial settlement of Dorestad, whose name

²⁶ Shaked 1995, No. 39, p. 251.

²⁷ See, for instance, Sims-Williams 1991, esp. p. 177, and de la Vaissière 2002, 86-89, 310-311. Other *graffiti* mention Sasanian merchants and an entrepreneur from Syria: de la Vaissière 2002, 178.

²⁸ de la Vaissière 2002, esp. p. 252.

²⁹ de la Vaissière 2002, 244-252.

³⁰ Profantová 2000a, also Profantová 2001, esp. pp. 327-329.

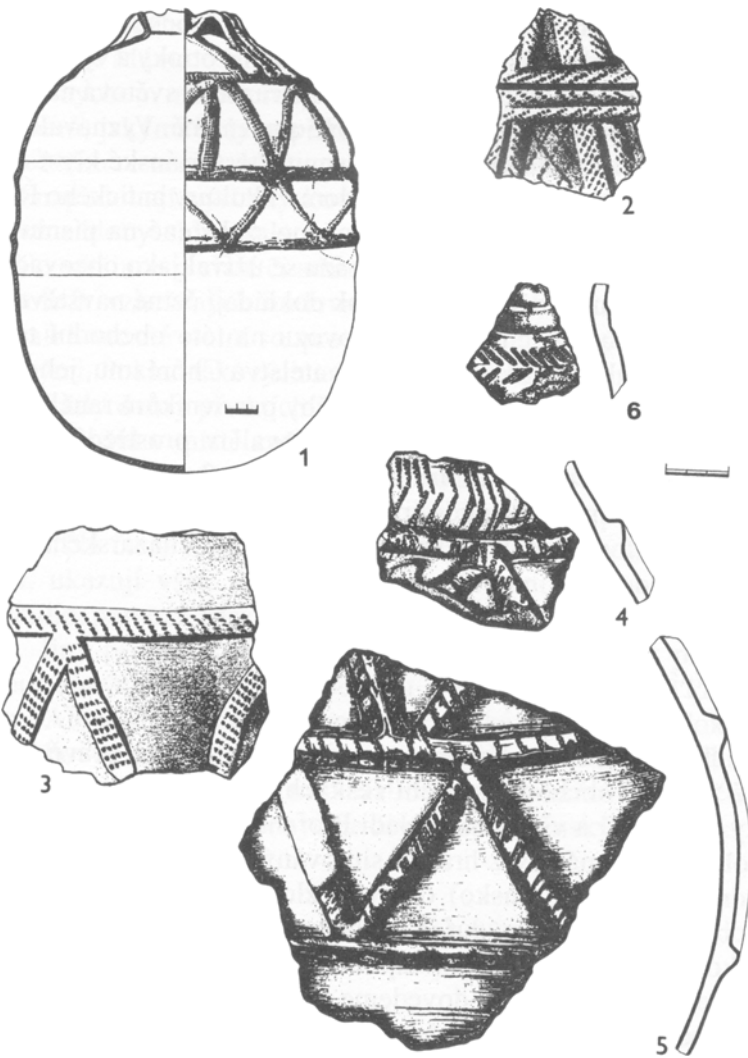


Figure 14: Amphorae with ridges, probably originally brought into Bohemia by Frisian merchants as Rhenish wine containers from the end of the eighth to the tenth-century (Profantová 2000, 652 Fig. 4).

is borne to the present day by the borough of Wijk bij Duurstede in the Rhine estuary of the Netherlands. These excavations unearthed a whole series of landing piers (platforms built above water on posts) on the arm of the Rhine delta. The piers provided moorings for ships, whose cargo would then be unloaded and transported to storage rooms.

The settlement proper was situated a little further inland. Traces of crafts included work with amber, bone, metals and textiles. The Dorestad merchants mostly sailed northeast, and distributed their goods over present-day Dutch and German coastal areas as far as the Jutland peninsula. Archeological sources provide evidence of the export of millstones made of basalt quarried in Rhineland mountains, and also of certain kinds of pottery, most notably the famous Tating Ware ('Tatinger Kannen'); flagons of dark colored groundmass bearing ornaments cut out of tin foil and quite often of Christian inspiration. These were traded all over the Baltic region; the most northerly site where they can be documented lies in the area of the present-day Russian city of Sanktpeterburg. The Dorestad harbor also took deliveries of goods produced by the renowned Rhenish glass workshops, which survived the turbulent Migration period and were now doing well. Finally, traders brought wine to the harbor in casks, some of it then being transferred into amphorae and exported further into Europe. The Dorestad traders minted their own coins between around 780 and 830. The settlement cluster had two cemeteries, one numbering some three hundred graves and the other two hundred, and at least one of them included what may have been a Christian church.

The 'Golden Age' of Dorestad commerce belonged to the eighth and early ninth centuries. After 830, the local inhabitants deserted the site in fear of the Scandinavian raids. Recent research hypothesizes that the Viking threat induced the enterprising Frisians to seek other markets for their wares, particularly in the hinterland of European coastal areas and along the continent's major watercourses³¹.

Nad'a Profantová's findings may therefore give us good cause to conclude that customers became interested in the supplies of goods from the north as early as the end of the eighth-century.

Longobards in Eighth-Century Bohemia?

Evidence for the long-distance contacts of coeval Bohemia includes a hitherto unexamined piece of information which is potentially of great interest.

The already much cited Longobard people, who settled in the north Italian region of Lombardy, lost their independence as a result of the

³¹ On Dorestad cf. Hodges-Whitehouse 1996, 100-103, 118-119, 150; on Frisian trade Lebecq 1996.

imperial politics of Charlemagne (768-814); and in 774, after victory over the last Longobard king, Charlemagne took possession of the Iron Crown of Lombardy, which is kept to this day as a treasure in the cathedral of Monza. The Longobards were well acquainted with their own history, which was documented in the eighth-century by Paul the Deacon, one of the most eminent chroniclers of early medieval Europe. As well as Paul the Deacon's History, there are other texts of this kind, including the so-called 'Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani', by an unknown author. This manuscript was finished in 807, and it is therefore likely that most of the information it contains was collected before the end of the eighth-century. The narrative of the 'Historia' (henceforth the HKG) is, to a large extent, identical to that of Paul the Deacon, but it also includes some remarkable pieces of first-hand information, one of which will now be our focus of interest³².

Describing the events of the reign of Wacho, a rich and powerful Longobard king (511-539), the HGK states that the king once resided in a palace whose ruins may be seen 'to this day' in Bohemia (*in Beowinidis*)³³. This information, missing in Paul the Deacon's text, shows surprising knowledge of Bohemian topography in a Longobard-oriented eighth-century author.

So what early architecture could the Longobard visitor to Bohemia have seen? Any attempts at identification would constitute pure guesswork. I once proposed that the writer could refer to the ruins of a major pre-Celtic shrine on the Závist hill south of Prague. In much the same way, the reference could be to the ruins of some Roman building, such as those at the south Moravian site of Mušov, but this is no better than speculation either.

Let us try another, and possibly more promising, line of argument. Can we imagine a Longobard man of letters (most probably a cleric) whose knowledge of Bohemian topography was so extensive that he was aware of the existence of the substantial ruins that he ascribes – erroneously or not – to the one-time palace of King Wacho?

How, indeed, would such a Longobard have advanced as far as Bohemia? Surprisingly enough, this question is not difficult to answer.

³² The relevant information can be found in publications of Paul the Deacon's text, listed in the "Sources" section of this book: Foulke-Peters (ed.) 1974 [1907], and Leonardi 1985.

³³ Foulke-Peters 1974 [1907], 324 fn. 9: "Unde usque hodie praesentem diem Wachoni regi eorum domus et habitacio apparet signa".

The loss of independence, and integration of a once small realm into a larger one often means that members of the subjugated ethnic group are dispersed throughout the more extensive territory administered by the victorious entity. This is exactly what happened to the Longobards. Authentic sources provide evidence of their presence in the Danube region in Bavaria in the eighth-century. Thus they did not have to travel far to reach Bohemia.

Can we propose any more detailed scenarios for the (supposed) arrival of the anonymous author? The first and most obvious postulates a Longobard trader traveling in search of commodities that will make him a profit. Unfortunately, this hypothesis can be neither confirmed nor refuted. A variant would be to envisage a Longobard dealer in slaves who has come to collect his 'merchandise', under contract to some wholesale supplier, most probably one of the chiefs or head men of contemporary Bohemia. The fact is that at this early date, from the beginning of the ninth-century, we know only of the export of Slav slaves to the Near East and northern Africa, where they can be perceived as the renowned Saqaliba (Saqlabi, of whom we shall hear more later). Unfortunately, however, there is simply no evidence for the ninth-century export of Czech slaves westwards. Although one isolated Slavic name appears there at the end of the eighth-century, a recent study of early medieval Bavaria has found the presence of slaves with Germanic names only. While this does not rule out the active hunting of Slav slaves by Bavarian expeditions, as we have seen above, we have no reliable data here. In much the same way, although some ninth-century charters of the Frankish empire do contain strange looking and certainly non-standard slave names, these can hardly be interpreted as unequivocal evidence of the presence of Slavs³⁴. Thus our hypothesis of a Longobard (slave) trader vanishes into thin air.

It is perhaps worth pondering yet another possibility. When a pagan prince married a Christian lady in early medieval Europe, as happened quite often, the prospective bride could demand, as one of the prerequisites for her consent to the marriage, that she be able to keep a chaplain in her house who would administer all that is necessary for the salvation of her soul³⁵. We shall hear that the first traces of Christianity in Bohemia date back to around the year 800. Can we thus imagine that a Longobard

³⁴ Le Jan 1995, 283-285.

³⁵ On this see von Padberg 1995, 258-260.

cleric, living in the house of a noble lady of Bavarian, Frankish or even Longobard stock, wedded to a Bohemian aristocrat, could have known Bohemian topography so well that he could supply information about the vestiges of the past glory of the Winnil nation in Bohemian territory? The fact is that such an interest could be legitimately expected from a man of letters, and thus, in coeval context, from a clergyman³⁶.

Be that as it may, the fact that the 'sights' of eighth-century Bohemia did not escape the attention of an author of a Longobard history of the early ninth-century does constitute a remarkable testament to the long-distance contacts of Bohemia at that time.

Slow but Steady Development in the Social Sphere

Throughout the eighth-century, we assume there existed a network of sites, mostly fortified, where the land's elite resided. (With justifiable caution, archeologists call such sites walled or fortified sites rather than castles.). Given the scarcity of source information, it is very difficult to assess what kind of elite directed the affairs of eighth-century Bohemia³⁷. The most typical artifacts that indicate elite presence at a site are the ostentatious nomadic or warrior waist-belts, and their components, which are known from excavations. Signifiers of superior social status, these items clearly demonstrated the privileged standing of their wearers. Such aristocratic belts bore large clasps and were protected from wear by end-pieces or chapes, often elaborately decorated. The belts themselves were set with mounts of varying shapes and decorative designs, and short subsidiary belts hung down from the main belt, each bearing its own (series of) mounts and its own chape. Some Turkic inscriptions set the number of such 'bosses', as they called them, at as many as fifty, and their wearers enjoyed the social status of a *beg* or a *tutuk*. It may be that 'bosses' were conferred on the begs by the khan himself for valiant conduct in battle, possibly upon the killing of a certain number of foes in combat³⁸.

It must be pointed out the such artifacts signify first and foremost the activities of high-born males, be they from warrior belts or (a second most important category of eighth-century finds) from exquisite horse-harness ornaments.

³⁶ I submit here my earlier research contribution: Charvát 1995a.

³⁷ For most of the available information cf. Profantová 1992.

³⁸ Jisl 1997, on pp. 16-17.

A generally shared opinion sees in these ornaments, executed in the style of the Avar khanate, an indication that the regions southeast of Bohemia and Moravia determined the tastes and fashions of the eighth-century elites, and that these therefore constituted the focus of power within the orbit in which the highest circles of Czech society moved.

From a logical viewpoint, this conclusion is not without problems. It cannot be denied that the stylistic traits of luxury artifacts found at eighth-century contexts in Bohemia and Moravia points towards the production of the Avar-khanate regions as their source of inspiration. On the other hand, the fact that we have just one single example of a complete set of belt fittings from all of eighth-century Bohemia, and that from an unknown site, must also be taken into account. Only in this singular case can we assert that the object reached Bohemia within the context of its original assignment and function. All the other evidence constitutes but fragments and shreds, taken from their genuine contexts so that their original sense and purpose is lost or at least unclear. This leads to the somewhat surprising conclusion that we do not in fact know the eighth-century material culture of Bohemia and Moravia. Yet it is nonetheless quite logical, and in keeping with what we know from the rest of western Europe, where the archeological source bases for this period thinned considerably due to the fact that burial artifacts, one of the richest *reservoirs* of material culture, vanished from the cemeteries under the influence of Christianity. Of course, western Europe can boast a worthy substitute both in the hoards of precious objects that were buried in anticipation of war, and in the artifacts donated to the Church in aristocratic sponsorship.

Let us now focus on the latter. An analysis of gifts to the early medieval churches of Rome, registered in the papal chronicle-cum-estate book known as *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Romanae*, shows clearly that as well as vessels made from precious materials which were probably a legacy from Roman times, the eighth-century pontiffs mostly donated items of precious textiles, silk and brocades³⁹. While such treasures undoubtedly represented considerable investments, they would hardly withstand the ravages of time, and prospects of their archeological recovery seem virtually non-existent.

³⁹ *Liber Pontificalis*, transl. Raymond Davis 1992 (“Sources” section of this book); for its data on precious textiles see Deliyannis 1996, esp. pp. 575-576. On actual examples of silk embroidery from coeval England see Coatsworth 2006, 76-81 (Maaseik). On textile furnishings of medieval households see Coatsworth 2007, 4-9.

Being thus deprived of archeological evidence from Czech lands, it is difficult to tell how the elite men and women of eighth-century Bohemia and Moravia legitimized their social status. Most probably they boasted sumptuous dress of Oriental silk and possibly Byzantine gold-woven fabrics. Guests invited to eat their food may have enjoyed dishes seasoned with exotic substances brought from distant lands. More than this, however, we cannot say with any certainty.

Only at the Dolní-Dunajovice burial site, at the southeastern-most tip of Moravia, have definite traces been found of people wearing dress items that denote the top circles of Avar-khanate society, of which they were probably privileged members⁴⁰. Interment No. 7, the grave of a male displaying a typical nomadic waist-belt (with a clasp, a chape, belt mounts and with subsidiary belts suspended from the main belt and bearing their own ornaments) shows clearly that here rested a major personage who belonged to the Turkic-speaking elite. (Fig. 16)

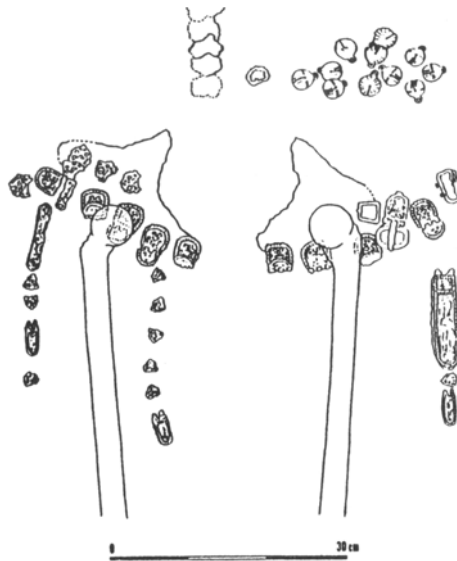


Figure 16: Dolní-Dunajovice, Moravia, grave No.7. This person was buried with a splendid nomad-type waist-belt; its position on the body, indicated by its metal accessories, was revealed by meticulous excavation procedure. (Měřínský 2002, 349).

⁴⁰ Klanica 1972.

In general, Moravia shows notable particularities in terms of political bodies bordering on the Avar khanate. A case in point is that of the eighth-century phase at the well-known archeological site of Mikulčice. While this site has yielded needle cases of bone, characteristic for high-status women of the Avar khanate, it has also unearthed an unusually large number of spurs, especially of the simple hook-terminal variety. This is most interesting since, as excellent horsemen, Avar elites did not use spurs at all. Yet the presence of spurs at Mikulčice points to the formation of home-trained cavalry units, evidently as a power tool of the Mikulčice chiefs, dukes, paramounts or whoever the commanders of such military bodies might have been⁴¹.

This state of affairs shows the overlords of Mikulčice to be provident politicians: they cultivated peaceful relations with the khanate by means of matrimonial alliances, but at home they took good care to train their own troops. This policy was certainly not beyond the comprehension of the chief figures of contemporary Bohemia, as is shown by finds of spurs, possibly of Moravian origin, there.

Let us notice here that evidence collected from Slav lands west of Bohemia has supplied the first instance of a term referring to the retinue or entourage of major personages, the later often cited *družina*⁴². (Fig. 17)

The Moravian archeological evidence illuminates another aspect of the 'psychological warfare' of the period. The metal discs that decorated the horse-harnesses from Mikulčice – archeologists term them *phalerae* – display heads of wild animals, often beasts of prey, snarling to show sharp, protruding teeth⁴³. Such icons, especially those of wolves, can be connected with symbols of the eastern, Orkhon Turks. A mythical she-wolf plays a crucial role in the narrative of the emergence of the Ashina, the founding clan of the whole Turk confederation; Jingiz Khan himself might have traced his ancestry back to a 'grey wolf'; Chinese emperors conferred flags bearing the wolf's head symbol on Turkic military units; successors to the Turkic khanate, the Uyghurs, marched to battle under standards displaying a head of this beast of

⁴¹ All the relevant information may be found in Profantová 1992.

⁴² Schütz 1996, 120-121 on the toponym *Truosnasteti*, present-day Trunstadt by Bamberg, situated in 776-791 in *Sclavis*. The element *steti* represents an Old High German plural from OHG *stat* = "'Ort, Stelle'", while *truosna* is probably *družina*.

⁴³ Depicted in Profantová 1992, 739, Taf. 25: 15, and also Měřinský 2002, 458.

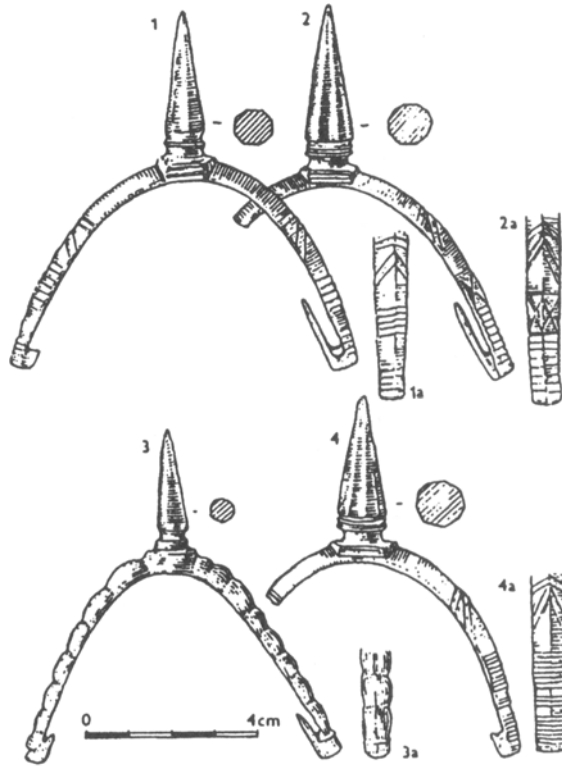


Figure 17: Hooked spurs from eighth-century layers at the site of Mikulčice, Moravia (Měřinský 2002, 256).

prey; and commanders of the retinue of Turkic khans bore the title 'böri' – wolf⁴⁴.

These animal icons might, however, also have been inspired by the applied art of post-Sasanian Iran, which displayed such motifs in horse-harness ornaments. (Fig. 18)

Emblems of Horseman Elites

One of the most interesting icons, known from such eighth-century sites as Rubín by Podbořany (Bohemia) or Mikulčice (Moravia), is that of a boar's head⁴⁵. This image definitely shows the influence of

⁴⁴ Jisl 1997, on pp. 83-84.

⁴⁵ Cf. Charvát 2007b, 13-14, and now Yatsenko 2006, 433, Fig.194 (a fresco painting from Balalyk-Tepe, around 700 A. D.).

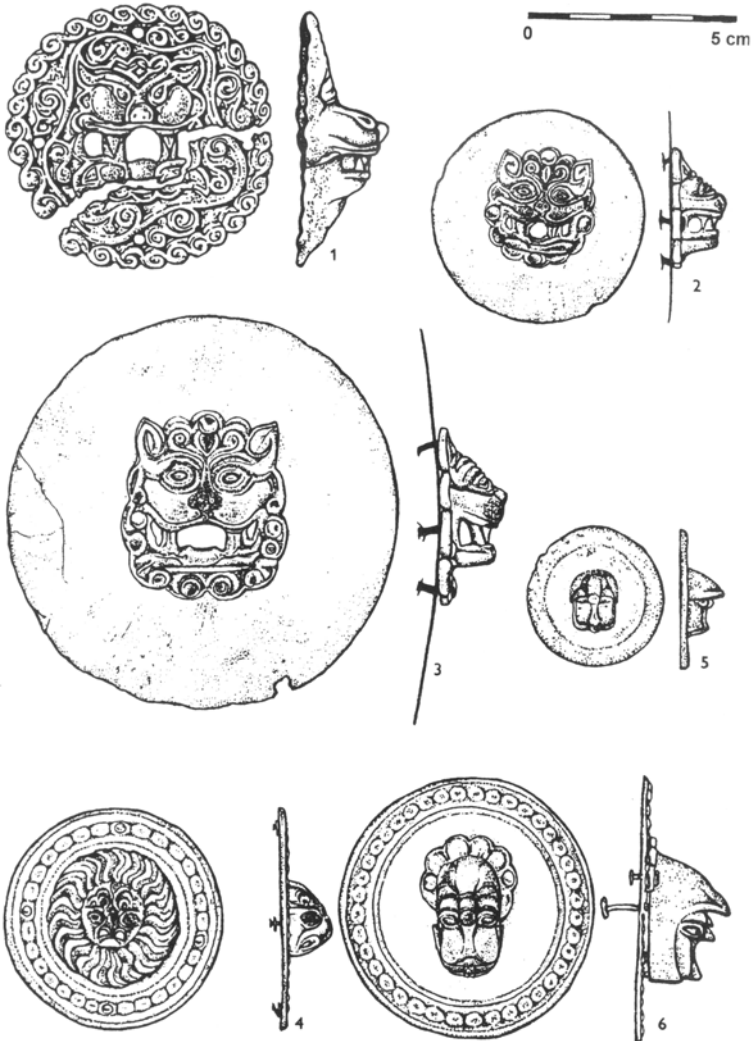


Figure 18: : These horse-harness decorations (phalerae) from eighth-century Mikulčice, Moravia, clearly show the warrior ethos of the period, depicting lions, wolves and dogs baring their teeth in a menacing manner (Měřínský 2002, 458).

post-Sasanian art in Iran and central Asia, especially with regard to the decoration of luxury textiles worn by courtiers to the dynasts of these countries. One example is the appearance of the motif on the robe of a feasting courtier in a fresco from the central Asian site of Balalyk-tepe in the Amu-darya river basin in Turkmenistan, most probably of

seventh-century origin. Textiles bearing this motif have also been found in graves excavated at the Astana cemetery in the Turfan oasis east of the Pamir mountains, and in Sin-'tiang, the western-most province of China. They probably date back to the seventh and eighth centuries; one of them, which turned up in grave TAM 325, was dated to the year 661. Technologically, these fabrics belong to the *samitum* category, but they seem to be local products inspired by Sasanian imagery rather than imports from Iran⁴⁶. The likeness of a wild boar also appears on silver tableware used by the Sasanian and post-Sasanian nobility of the sixth to eighth centuries, as well as in compositions showing Sasanian sovereigns hunting, and in relief carvings. It is difficult to say to what extent the image of a boar's head can be interpreted as the depiction of the celebrated Mazdaistic deity, Verethraghna, the donor of victory. In Middle Persian, he was called Wahram and visited Zarathustra, the prophet and founder of Mazdaism, in the guise of a wild boar. His role as a warrior god would fit very well with the ethos of the epoch, but we can do no more than suggest it here⁴⁷.

Let us note at this juncture that Avar society is likely to have included groups of diverse origins and languages. Most of the titles of their khanate emanate from Turkic languages, but the designation of the khan's consort – *katun* – for instance, seems to be of Iranian origin, much like the hitherto enigmatic khan's title of *baga*. It is this latter title that may have been taken over by the Přemysl dynasty rulers of Bohemia and left a trace in an eleventh-century written source, as we shall hear later. It is worth noting the possible connection of this title with the name of one of the 'sisters' of a kin group of the most ancient Croats (*Charváti*) who first came to their present-day Balkan homeland under the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (610-641). This 'lady' was called Buga and in the 1920s a specialist noted that she had acquired the status of a 'sister' due to a mistake made by the Greek copyists of the treatise *De administrando imperio* by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus (913-952). It was originally a male name, most probably from one of the Turkic dialects⁴⁸.

The Sogdians, close allies of the Turkic-speaking groups, have been sufficiently dealt with in these pages.

⁴⁶ Otavsky 1998 (reference courtesy of Karl Otavsky). On the Astana cemetery cf. also de la Vaissière 2002, 131.

⁴⁷ More on this in Klíma-Vavroušek 1997, and also Russel 1987, 189-234.

⁴⁸ This may be found in Jisl 1997, on pp. 78-79, and Třeštík 2003.

Other Newcomers: Are We All Now?

In the eighth-century, the Czech lands accepted a continual migration of new population groups⁴⁹. We know nothing about the manner in which the native BOHEMI reacted to this fact, but it seems that finally, a solution acceptable to everyone was found.

It appears that Slav populations exhibited an almost uncanny talent for adapting to the cultural and social structures of the host populations of their new homelands. One of the most eloquent examples of this is offered by the previously cited Greek, or rather Peloponnese peninsula, called *Sclavinia* (Slavia, Slav land) as early as the 720s⁵⁰. Proof can be cited that at least some of the Byzantine *arkhontes*, commanders of army groups subordinated to the commanding officers of military areas (*strategoï* of the *themata*), bore Slav names. Two lead seals found here feature an *arkhon* named Dargoslav, clearly a Slav name that is Drahoslav today, with a depiction of the Virgin Mary on the reverse⁵¹. Slav elites evidently had no problems adopting the social appurtenances of their new offices. In such cases they had the choice of either full integration into the host society, or of holding onto their Slavinity, which, in some instances, they could help to spread further.

The context of these developments most probably depended on the fates of communities on the northern coast of the Black sea. After the establishment of the Second Turkic khanate (683-744)⁵², this area fell under the rule of another Turkic-speaking group, the Khazarians, who founded an increasingly powerful state between the Black sea and the Caucasus around the year 700. The beginning of the eighth-century nonetheless witnessed heavy fighting with the expanding forces of the Islamic caliphate, as a result of which the Khazarian khans deemed it provident to transfer the capital of the new state northwards from its original Ciscaucasion locality. The new city was founded in the delta of

⁴⁹ For a similar opinion see Lutovský 2005, 856.

⁵⁰ For instance, the Chronicle of Monemvasia (McCormick 2001, *passim*); for a good review of the evidence see Sołtysiak 2006. The Life of St. Pancratius of Taormina, written around 700, refers to Avar prisoners-of-war taken in campaigns around Athens (Curtis 2006b, 105-106). Yet since 723, when St. Willibald of Würzburg, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, landed in Monemvasia, in the southernmost Peloponnesus, in *Sclaviniam terram* (*ibid.*, 108), we hear only about Slavs, not Avars, in Greece (*ibid.*, 109-116). See also Olajos 1998, esp. p. 43.

⁵¹ Oikonomidès 1998. On the (questionable) identification of Slav materials in Greek archeology of the Middle Ages see Vroom 2003.

⁵² On early Turkish history see now Bazin 1994, and Golden 2006.

the Volga river, and received the name of Itil, the same as that given in Near Eastern sources to the mighty watercourse⁵³.

Such turbulent events may have dislodged a number of local population groups who thought it prudent to leave a land that so often became a war zone; and some of them might have advanced up the Danube as far as the Czech lands.

This could apply to the 'tribe' of Doudlebi, resident in south Bohemia, whose name is supposed to derive from the sphere of Turkic dialects. This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that south Bohemia is not far from the Danube.

A more complex problem concerns the Charváti (Croats), resident along the northern and eastern fringes of Bohemia, whose name is derived from one of the Iranian languages⁵⁴. This is an ethnic group that settled in the Adriatic region of the Balkans, where they still live today. Yet we also know of an early medieval Croat 'diaspora', located along the lower foothills north of the northeastern range of the Carpathian mountains, from present-day southeastern Poland as far north-westward as the Bohemian Krkonoše (Riesengebirge) mountains. Their settlement area so faithfully follows the Carpathian range that we need to ask whether this was a natural distribution, or whether some external power induced the Croats to settle there. A possible solution would be a service obligation of the Croats to the Avar khanate, the state that occupied the lowlands within the Carpathian mountains; Avar commanders might have stationed the Croats as border guards on the outer, lower slopes where the danger of enemy attack was most imminent. In the tenth-century, this group called itself White Croats. If this derives from the original denomination of the nomadic groups within the Pontic area, respecting the Chinese color symbolism of the cardinal points, White Croats would have been the western component of the whole group; and the Green or Blue Croats (and possibly also Black and Red Croats) would have remained in the Pontic area.

It may be surmised that the displacement of Croat settlement zones, both in Dalmatia and outside the Carpathian mountain ranges, was caused by the gradual advance of this ethnic group from the east. The original Croat grouping may have split up somewhere southeast of the Carpathian mountains. One part might then have advanced north-

⁵³ On the Khazarians see now de la Vaissière 2002, 244-251.

⁵⁴ On the Doudlebi and Charváti groups cf. Wolfram 1986.

westward, while the other crossed the mountains and settled in Dalmatia. A similar process occurred in the history of the ethnic group called Serbians, whose name also comes from an Iranian language. They too traveled along the Carpathians as far as the Elbe (Labe) river, while another segment of the group took up residence in the central Danube area of the Balkans⁵⁵.

What happened when these groups arrived in Bohemia and Moravia? I see two essential changes. First, their members settled down and relinquished the nomadic way of life. Second, they probably acquired a Slav ethnic character. This logical and natural process followed from the considerable distance they traveled not only geographically but also socially and culturally, severing contact with related ethnic groups, and from the strength and dynamics of the resident, presumably Slav, population⁵⁶. An illustration of such a case can be found in some seventh to ninth-century Byzantine chronicles. In the seventh-century, they speak about the Avars who came to occupy Greek territories. Yet when the same lands were re-conquered by the Byzantine army in the ninth-century, the same chronicles describe the population of these territories as Slavic⁵⁷. If nomadic groups sever their contacts with similar communities, and if they take up residence in areas not particularly suited to the nomadic way of life, they tend to convert to sedentary life fairly quickly and dissolve into the host population, until finally, hardly anything is left of who they once were apart from their original names. One of the inscriptions left by Bilge-kagan, ruler of the Second Turkic kaganate, shows that the chiefs of the nomadic groups were well aware of this problem.

If you go to that country, oh Türk people, you will be lost; but if you remain in the land of Ötükän and will send caravans (with goods to China), you

⁵⁵ All the relevant data may be found in Třeštík 2003.

⁵⁶ Archeologically, this process may be illuminated elsewhere by such finds as the eighth-century interment from Grabelsdorf by St. Kanzian, Carantania, showing the merging of various traditions from the east, south and west into a particular “‘idiom’” likely to relate to Slavs: Szameit 1993, esp. p. 230.

⁵⁷ For instance, the Chronicle of Monemvasia (McCormick 2001, *passim*); for a good review of the evidence see Soltysiak 2006. The Life of St. Pancratius of Taormina, written around 700, refers to Avar prisoners-of-war taken in campaigns around Athens (Curta 2006b, 105-106). Yet since 723, when St. Willibald of Würzburg, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, landed in Monemvasia, in the southernmost Peloponnesus, in *Sclaviniam terram* (*ibid.*, 108), we hear only about Slavs, not Avars, in Greece (*ibid.*, 109-116). See also Olajos 1998, esp. p. 43.

will never suffer want. If you remain in the forest of Ötükän, you will maintain your own empire, oh Türk people, and you will be sated.

Inscription of the Khan of Eastern (Orkhon) Türks, Bilge-kagan (716-734)⁵⁸.

Needless to say, I believe this is exactly what happened to the Doudlebi and Charváti (Croats) in Czech territory.

The End of the Avar Khanate

Let us note that the Avar khanate perished in consequence of the expansionist policy of the Frankish empire under Charlemagne in the last decade of the eighth-century. In two campaigns of 791 and 796, western armies almost completely wiped out the Avar fighting elite. It was then too late to regret that the foremost Avars had failed to make the leading member groups of the khanate directly interested in the survival of the Avar corporate polity. Reports of the fall of the once powerful state, and of the fabulous booty that awaited the victors in the conquered Avar capital, are the epilogue of the story of one of the east European powers that failed to take a more permanent place in history. The Anglo-Saxon Annals of Northumbria describe how the victorious Franks transported the Avar booty on fifteen wagons, fully loaded with gold, silver and silk, each drawn by four oxen⁵⁹.

We shall stop at this point and try to imagine more vividly the power, glory and great wealth which the Avar khanate once enjoyed. Essentially, this was the material *milieu*, the character of which was still determined by the lifestyle of Late Antiquity. It is therefore legitimate to use as illustration a report of the booty that fell into the hands of those who triumphed over one of the mightiest powers of the epoch, the Sasanian kingdom of Iran, following the Muslim victory in the battle of Qadisiya and the occupation of the twin Sasanian capitals of Seleucia and Ctesiphon in 637⁶⁰.

The report of this booty is so reminiscent of a tale from 'One Thousand and One Nights' that we must stretch our imaginations to believe it. We hear about precious stones of unheard-of size, and about gold and silver

⁵⁸ Jisl 1997, on p. 8.

⁵⁹ On this Hardt 2003a. On Gerold II of the Agilulfinga lineage, commander of the expeditionary force against the Avars who fell during battle with them on September 1st, 799, and was buried at Reichenau by an altar that he himself had donated, see Borgolte 1986, 122-126.

⁶⁰ Shalem 1994.

vessels stored in sealed baskets. The victorious Muslims took possession of royal robes, the baldric on which the royal sword was carried, and the royal coat of mail. They acquired two golden supports in the shape of a half-moon set with precious stones (which could either be worn with the royal crown, or used to stand it on when unworn), and a golden pail and a set of golden cups set with precious stones.

Two mules that were caught in the fields carried baskets containing the royal crown and the king's brocade robes, interwoven with gold and again set with precious stones. Two leather sacks were found to contain the royal helmet, the king's armor, the armor of rulers allied to the Sasanian kings, and eleven swords belonging to various sovereigns. Still another basket yielded a golden statuette of a horse with a silver saddle and a harness and bit set with rubies and emeralds. A likeness of a rider was made of silver and also set with precious stones. Another of the captured baskets surprised those who opened it with a silver statuette of a camel with a gold saddle and a harness and bit set with rubies. Here again was the likeness of a rider, made of gold and set with precious stones.

Muslim warriors took possession of the Sasanian battle standard made from animal hide and decorated with precious stones and gold and silver coins. A vast quantity of precious stones, some of which were subsequently dedicated to Muslim shrines, fell into the hands of the victors. The Muslims even acquired the famous royal ruby of the Sasanians, called *al-Jabal* (Mountain). This was set in a finger-ring which was transferred from father to son as a symbol of caliphal rule. The famous Harun ar-Rashid (786-809) is reported to have purchased *al-Jabal* for four thousand dinars, and ultimately the huge stone ended up in the possession of the sovereigns of Muslim Sicily. At another time, the victorious Muslims became owners of a royal Sasanian palm tree made of gold, decorated with precious stones and assessed at about two million dinars.

Yet the most awesome piece of booty was the giant royal carpet measuring some 30 × 30 meters, the so-called Bahar-i Qisra, 'Royal (or Khusrâu's) source'. Golden in color, this carpet bore depictions of roads, rivers and human settlements. The edges of the carpet displayed plots of arable soil sown with spring vegetables, the images of which were sewn with silk on golden stalks. Flowers were depicted with gold and silver, fruit with precious stones, leaves were of silk and waters of gold. Muslim reports describe how this carpet was used by Sasanian rulers who sat upon it on grey winter days with a glass of wine in hand, enjoying its beauty and looking forward to the colors, smells and warmth of spring.

The booty was sent by the victorious Muslim commander to the caliph in Medina, and over time, the Prophet's successors put at least one of its pieces, the crown of the last Sasanian ruler, on public display in the Jerusalem Dome of the Rock (Qubbat as-Sakhra). In accordance with rules regulating the division of war booty, the Bahar-i Qisra carpet was cut up and divided among the victorious warriors.

'Old-Time Religion'?

So what of the spiritual orientation of the inhabitants of Czech lands in the eighth-century? They most probably adhered to the creed of their ancestors and forefathers, as discussed in the earlier chapter on the beginning of Czech medieval history. The major indication of uninterrupted development seems to be a degree of continuity in burial customs and practices, including cremation and interment in various ways. Present-day research would indicate that most of the inhabitants of eighth-century Bohemia laid their dead to rest in a manner that does not leave archeological traces. This, of course, deprives us of a substantial amount of evidence which we would otherwise be able to gather by analysis of funerary contexts. Another, possibly smaller group of eighth-century Bohemians and Moravians deposited the remains of their dead either under funerary barrows, or in some relation to them. One possible variant, upon which we have already commented, is that the funerary urns were supported on posts sunk into the bodies of the barrows⁶¹. Do such sepulchral monuments entomb the remains of Bohemian and Moravian elites? Finally, we also know of the continuing tradition of funerary urns being buried in pits but without barrows. (Fig. 20)

Unfortunately, there is virtually no evidence of the rites which must have accompanied the burial, although we do know that they involved the smashing of pottery vessels on the burial site and their deposition there or in the body of the barrow.

Ardha Viradh, Sesen and Mithra

A certain amount of development in the spiritual life of the land can nonetheless be observed. Connections with the East might possibly

⁶¹ Lutovský 1997 (reference courtesy of Nad'a Profantová), and also Lutovský 2005, 858-859.

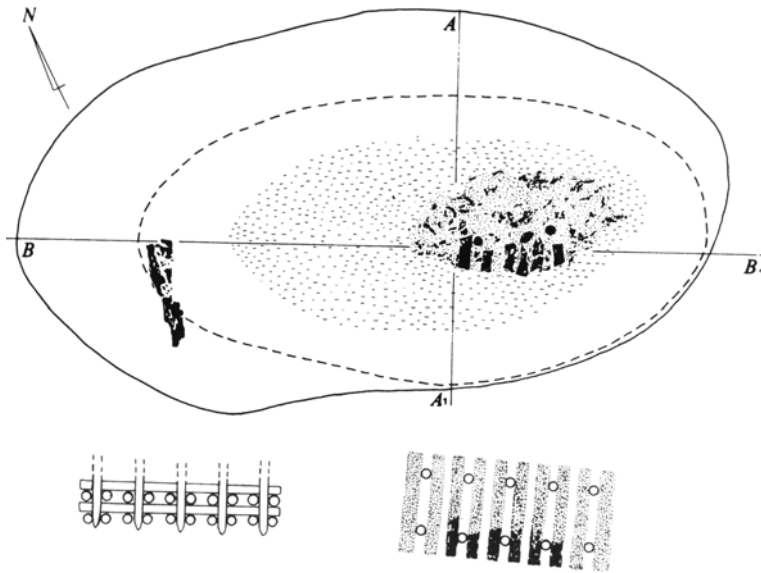


Figure 20: Meticulous excavation of this Polish cremation-rite funerary barrow revealed vestiges of the pyre on which the body was burned (Zoll-Adamikowa 1982, 89 Abb. 1).

have brought into Bohemia and Moravia adherents to age-old religions, inheritors of the wisdom of the ancient civilizations of mankind. It is most regrettable that the evidence we possess is so meager and ambiguous. Otherwise, it might shed light on eighth-century Bohemia and Moravia as lands opened up to cultural and spiritual exchange on a large scale, offering refuge to a number of believers in established creeds⁶².

The site of Pohořelice in the Břeclav district of Moravia has yielded the remarkable find of a belt chape, dated by present research to the eighth-century. Its uppermost part shows two figures in confrontation: one is of human form, the other appears to be an animal on its hind legs. From what we see of this animal (an eye, a long head and ear) we might generally liken it to a donkey. Below this, the long and narrow part of the chape displays, one below another, three repetitions of the same scene. A winged human figure with wide eyes and streaming hair rides on a four-legged creature with feet ending in four long claws, also with wide eyes and possibly streaming hair on its head. An archive photograph, documenting the find in its original state, shows a component

⁶² On this see Charvát 2000.



Figure 21a: A large chape (strap-end mount) from Pohořelice, Moravia, most probably of eighth-century origin (Profantová 1992, Taf. 33 : B).

Figure 21b: A belt mount depicting fights between a dragon and a reptile, and with a pendant showing a human head emanating rays of light, most probably a likeness of the Iranian deity Mihr (Mithra) from the hill-fort of Kal, in the district of Jičín (Profantová-Kalferst 1999, 321, Fig. 4 : 5).

Figure 21c and d: Bohemian and Moravian iconography of the eighth and ninth-century finds parallels in seal impressions from the late Sasanian and post-Sasanian site of Qasr-i Abu Nasr. These include a depiction of a bird with Sasanian royal ribbons (*pativa*) around its neck (Frye 1973, No. 39), and also a composition of a plant motif flanked by two birds (Frye 1973, No. 328). Both motifs may be combined in the image borne by a chape from Mikulčice, shown in Figure 23 on page 91.

which was originally hinged to the chape's upper end but is now missing. This repeated the main theme of the whole composition; the winged human figure riding the four-legged creature. (Fig. 21)

Before we proceed with the analysis, one note should perhaps be added. In pre-industrial societies, these waist-belts were usually

perceived not only as material expressions of social position, but also as amulets of considerable importance. The belts belong to the topmost layer of human clothing, and are thus most intensely exposed to interaction with the external world. In view of the fact that both forces of good and evil operate in the external world, the waist-belt must protect its wearer from the possible damage caused by the forces of evil. This is the reason why images on waist-belts are of such significance, and why they frequently carry a spiritual message. In Christian societies, for instance, the waist-belt chapes often display emblems of the creed, either the symbols themselves, or scenes considered to be particularly powerful against devilish machinations.

A human-headed quadruped represents one of the motifs of Eastern art. Most frequently, it is explained with reference to the mythical steed called Boraq or Buraq, who carried the Prophet Muhammad on a nocturnal journey from Jerusalem through the seven heavens of Islam to the podium of Allah's throne and then back again, landing him safely on the same spot from which he had started. The story of Muhammad's journey is nonetheless not considered an integral part of Islamic tradition, and specialists see in it a reflection of impulses emanating from the Iranian world. In that case, we could consider one of the legends of Mazdaistic (also known as Zoroastrian) religion, which tells the tale of a journey by Ardha Viradh, a righteous believer, through the heavens and hells of the Mazdaistic creed. Being hesitant in its beliefs and social customs after the incursion of Alexander the Great, which shattered all the ancient certainties, the Mazdaistic community decided to send someone of sufficient religious fervor, credibility and moral integrity on a mystical journey to bring back a report on the essentials of the creed. The lot fell to Ardha Viradh, who was induced into a mystical trance and woke up after several days. His report of what he saw and experienced on this journey constitutes the legend⁶³.

Does the Pohořelice chape depict any of these legends? The animal 'sitting' on its hind legs in front of the human figure could be interpreted as the mythical carrier, ready to take the traveler on his mystical journey. In that case we could have before us a variant of Muhammad's journey through the celestial worlds. However, we would then have to explain the contradiction between the three repetitions of our scene and the

⁶³ On this see now also Russel 2004, 21-29 (The Platonic Myth of Er, Armenian Ara, and Iranian Ardāy Virāz).

seven heavens traveled, according to tradition, by the Prophet of Islam. Another variant explanation would see the animal not as a steed (or similar creature), but as a dog. In this case we could well have a reference here to one of the dog-like beings guarding the Bridge of the Separator of the Mazdaistic creed, used by the souls of the dead to reach the eternal world⁶⁴.

The image of a human being with wide eyes and streaming hair may well incarnate the idea of a human soul in a state of trance. The entire scene defies the laws of human logic and rationality. A winged being does not need a carrier, as it is able to move through any of the three dimensions of the Euclidean world by itself. The saddling of a mythical creature by a human being may well denote a journey through an environment that is not subject to the laws of the material world. One of the possible explanations of this very specific image could therefore certainly be that it alludes to the world of legends such as that of Ardhā Viradh.

Another possibility which should be taken into consideration is that the image depicts a protective demon subduing the forces of evil. Such eventuality may be denoted by scenes from magical seals worked in the Sasanian style, where the scene of confrontation between the human hero and the demon in animal form finds direct parallels⁶⁵. The same sphere of art supplies analogies for the figures of both the human protagonist and the human-headed quadruped⁶⁶. Seals with such depictions often contain accompanying texts mentioning what Rika Gyselen has interpreted as a personal name *Sāsān*, invoking protection by this personage⁶⁷; this could indeed refer to our human protagonist. This protector figure has recently been commented upon by Pierfrancesco Callieri, who proposes that it be seen as a being called *Sesen*, perhaps originally a protective deity of Syro-Phoenician character. The name, appearing in Parthian ostraca from Nisa, may find reflection in St. Sisinnios, a guardian saint of Byzantine Christianity⁶⁸. Could the Pohořelice image come from a Christian *milieu*? As to the demon subdued by our

⁶⁴ On dogs in Mazdaism see Russel 1987, pp. 344-345 and 418.

⁶⁵ Gyselen 1995, type 6.2, pp. 40-45 and .56.

⁶⁶ The winged human protagonist, denoted positively by a ring with two *pativa* streamers as symbols of Sasanian royal *xvarnah*: Gignoux-Gyselen 1992, 49-56, p. 53 No. 40.1; the human-headed quadruped: *ibid.* p. 54 Nos. 40.8 and 40.9, and Gyselen 1995, type 1.2 - 2.2. on pp. 25-27 for the physiognomy, and type 8.7 on pp. 46-47 for the whole figure.

⁶⁷ Gyselen 1995, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁸ Callieri 2001.

beneficent force, it is most difficult to identify him or her, insofar as it is desirable at all; one possibility is the pre-Islamic Iranian demon that appears in medieval Armenian sources as Uškparik⁶⁹. (Fig. 22)

Ardha Viradh or Sesen do nonetheless find parallels in eighth-century Bohemia and Moravia. Contemporary archeological finds include two belt fittings depicting a human head radiating rays of light. One of these came to light in the hill-fort of Kal, in the district of Jičín in northeast Bohemia, and the other in the southern Moravian site of Mikulčice; both belong to a small but distinct group of such artifacts occurring within the Carpathian basin⁷⁰. These depictions find illuminations in Sasanian-style seals, where such icons refer to the Iranian god Mithra⁷¹. This ancient Indo-Iranian deity, first alluded to in the Vedas, was originally a guardian of the inviolability of oaths, contracts and the

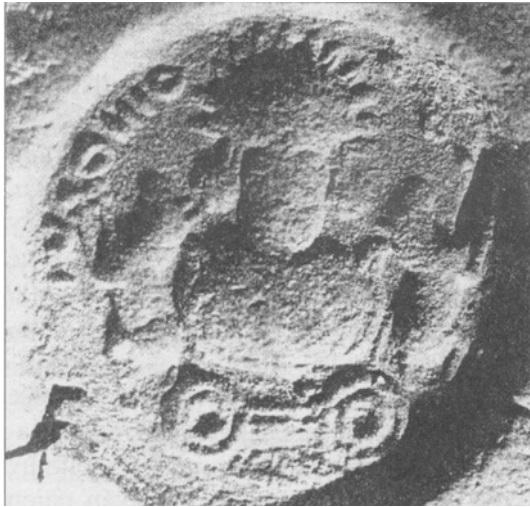


Figure 22: The image of Kal seems to have been inspired by icons of Mihr (Mithra), on his heavenly chariot and emanating rays of light, such as this one from the Akdepe site, Turkmenistan (Gubaev-Loginov-Nikitin 1996, Pl. XIV : 1.3).

⁶⁹ Russel, 2004, 509-529 (The Mother of all Heresies: A late medieval Armenian text on the Yuškparik).

⁷⁰ Here again see my earlier work: Charvát 2000.

⁷¹ On Mithra cf., i. a., Boyce 1996; Klíma-Vavroušek 1997; Schmithausen 1997, p. 28, as well as Russel 1987, *passim*, esp. pp. 261-287, Russell 2004, and also Woodard 2006. Or could this be Vahagn = Verethragna, companion of Mithra and flag-bearer of the *yazds* in their battle with evil (Russell 1987, 189-234, esp. p. 202)?

given word. In the Iranian religion of the Middle Persian age (third to seventh-century A. D.), Mithra, whose name was then pronounced 'Mihr', rose to a position of prominence among the figures of the Iranian spiritual world. The all-seeing solar deity, a divinity of rain and thus of plant growth, an invincible warrior, a provider of fast horses and bringer of victory in battle, guardian of oaths and judge of the dead, Mithra was revered not only in Iran, but all over the Roman world, where the military in particular took part in the Mithraic cult. From one end of the *Imperium Romanum* to the other, there was probably not a single army garrison that did not worship at its own Mithraeum. In the Roman West, the cult of Mithra died out very quickly with the onset of Christianity; Sasanian Iran not only preserved it, but brought it to a climax. Having been taken over by Mazdaism, Mithra appeared in newly established religions such as Manicheism, where, as a solar deity, he had the obligation to herald the end of the present world and the final victory of the forces of good over those of evil. Sasanian seals, especially those from well-excavated and published contexts such as the Iranian site of Qasr-i Abu Nasr by Shiraz, feature Mithra's name as late as the seventh to eighth centuries⁷².

From the seventh-century onwards, Mithra features a number of times in Armenian medieval texts. Here he is presented as a beardless youth with a golden face and lips, dressed in resplendent white robes and with a blinding light issuing from his mouth⁷³.

In medieval Iranian lore, Mithra is sometimes a deity, sometimes a pact, but mostly the sun⁷⁴.

Some Mithra seals of the Sasanian epoch join the deity's image to a text that reads *humihir pahlom*, meaning 'consensus, agreement, harmony, good balance (i.e. peace, P.Ch.) is the best'⁷⁵. This shows that the Mithra icon, most probably including Bohemian and Moravian examples, already carried in this period the connotation of 'peace', the contemporary form of his name, Mihr, being identical with the Slavic, and now Czech, expression for 'peace' (= 'mir', New Czech 'mír'). This lexeme is known from the earliest spiritual song in Czech, 'Hospodine, pomiluj ny' ('Lord, have mercy on us'). This religious hymn, which is dated between the ninth and twelfth centuries, contains two instances of

⁷² Frye 1973.

⁷³ For instance, the vision of Anania Shirakats'i (610-685): Russell 2004, 293-304.

⁷⁴ Information kindly supplied by Professor Touraj Daryayee of the University of California, Irvine.

⁷⁵ Gubaev-Loginov-Nikitin 1996, 55-60, p. 56 fn. 13.

the word 'mir'. The Christian Lord is here 'saviour of all the world' ('ty, spase všeho mira'), conceived clearly not only in the geographical sense (Latin *orbis terrarum*), but also as the community of all people (Greek *οικουμηνη*), so that we are tempted to translate the word as 'universe' here. The intercession for 'žizn a mir v zemi' ('life and peace on earth') then shows how the 'mir' denoted not only a geographical entity, but also the inner, well-balanced state of a community living in a desirable, well-constructed social equilibrium. 'Mir' is thus not only a set of lands, but a harmony, balance and peace, quite like the entity referred to by the *humihhr pahlom* formula.

It must of course be noted that the notion of 'mir' entered the Slav languages at the very beginning of their existence, and that the word belongs to the lexical thesaurus of the primordial Slav population. It might therefore be argued that rather than being an eighth-century innovation, this notion of 'peace' was always there. That is, naturally, possible; but the facts that we do have eighth-century Mithra icons from both Bohemia and Moravia, and that these are accompanied by other depictions likely to derive from the realm of post-Sasanian Iran; and that the notion of 'mir', ascertainable from the earliest religious hymn of Bohemia, equates very closely to that of 'mihhr' on late Sasanian seals, certainly do merit attention.

*Hospodine, pomiluj ny,
Jezu Kriste, pomiluj ny,
Ty, Spase všeho mira,
Spasiž ny i uslyšiž,
Hospodine, hlasy nášě
Daj nám všem, Hospodine
Žizň a mir v zemi,
Krlěš, krlěš.*

(Lord, have mercy on us,
Jesus Christ, have mercy on us,
You, Saviour of all the world,
Save us and hear,
Lord, our voices
Give us all, Lord,
Life and peace in the land,
Kyrie eleison, kyrie eleison)

Text of the hymn 'Hospodine, Pomiluj Ny' (Lord, have Mercy on Us)
(Translation P.Ch.)⁷⁶.

⁷⁶ Nový-Sláma (edd.) 1987, p. 409.

Let us now review the archeological source base for eighth-century Bohemia and Moravia and see whether any post-Sasanian influences will surface. Thanks to my learned colleague and friend, Nad'a Profantová, we have a list of all the finds of this period from central Europe⁷⁷. This list, containing 147 items, may be broken up as follows:

Origin	Number of items	%
Various, most probably local	94	63.94%
Byzantine	35	23.81%
Post-Sasanian	6	4.10%
Undecorated	12	8.30%

Thus post-Sasanian influences did make the very long journey to Bohemia and Moravia, though many were undoubtedly lost en route⁷⁸.

Finally, we would do well to remark on the discovery of an artifact which, though tiny in size, indicated well the great changes that lay in store for the Bohemians and Moravians. A belt chape from Mikulčice shows a plant motif flanked by two birds. The Sasanian royal ribbons, or *pativas*, flowing from the birds' necks carry a clear message of supreme social power, to which the Moravian princes-to-be must have paid close attention. Dating from around 800, this small artifact heralds the notion of suzerainty even before the establishment of the state⁷⁹. (Fig. 23)

Christianity

The religion of Jesus Christ, which was to become the land's faith in the future, was not unknown to the inhabitants of eighth-century Bohemia and Moravia. The most likely avenues through which Christianity advanced may be sought in the countries southeast, south and southwest from the Czech lands. Unequivocal proof of this is constituted by a

⁷⁷ Profantová 1992.

⁷⁸ A new piece of evidence pointing in this direction is represented by a unique circular brooch with coiled snakes from grave P-2 at Prušánky in south Moravia, for which parallels can be found from the Caucasus to the Po and the Rhine: Klanica 2006, 97-99, Fig. 37 on p. 97.

⁷⁹ Měřinský 2002, 249, on the *pativa* symbol Otavsky 1998, 127.



Figure 23: An eighth-century chape (strap-end mount) from Mikulčice. Two birds, displaying the Sasanian royal ribbons (*pativa*), flank the central plant motif (Měřínský 2002, 249)

find that was made outside, but very close to, Czech territories. A belt chape of the second half of the eighth-century, cast in bronze and found in grave 12 in the cemetery at Komárno-Lodenice on the Danube in southern Slovakia, shows the image of a cross and an eagle with spread wings. Here the interpretation of the depiction as that of the resurrected Christ probably applies⁸⁰.

There is a remote possibility that the very first medieval Christian icon of the Czech lands might have turned up in Moravia. A set of fittings from splendid attire has been found, probably in a grave, at the site of Hevlín on the Dyje (Thaya) river. This set, cast in bronze and dating to the eighth-century, includes two medallions showing a Graeco-Roman mythological theme; a sea-nymph, *Nereid*, sitting on a mythical animal called *hippokampos*, that is a sea horse with the tail of a fish. She holds an object in her hand which, in more carefully executed examples, may

⁸⁰ Charvát 1998, p. 30 with ref., and most recently Trugly 2008, fig.on p. 204.

be seen to be the helmet of the heroic figure Achilles. This motif occurs frequently on textiles of Late Antiquity, especially those woven in Egypt or Syria between the fourth and eleventh centuries. Strangely enough, some of these depictions show the *Nereids* with halos, and even with crosses. The idea of propagating Christianity through Homeric epics may appear strange to us, but that in no way excludes it. The Christianity of the incipient Middle Ages saw nothing wrong in showing an interest in Graeco-Roman cultural heritage; indeed at that time, such knowledge came to be expected in any educated citizen. This was especially so in Byzantium, where all schoolchildren began their studies by reading the Homeric epics as a matter of course⁸¹.

The Czechs may have come into contact with Christianity through association with the lands of the Avar kaganate, where the faith was growing. In that region, the rising percentage of inhumation burials throughout the eighth-century is interpreted as testimony to the success of Christianity. The extent to which the apostolic faith was introduced to Bohemia and Moravia by missionaries from Bavaria, specifically from Regensburg and Passau, will be elucidated by future research. Such efforts must have begun at the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, however, as is indicated by philological evidence; the name form of the patron saint of Regensburg, St. Emmeram, of whom we heard earlier, must have been taken over into what was to become the Czech dialect of the Western Slavic languages prior to the year 800⁸².

⁸¹ Charvát 1997b.

⁸² Zeschick 1993, 5, also Charvát 1999a, 7-32, on p. 16, with ref.

CHAPTER 3

THE NINTH-CENTURY: FROM HERE TO ETERNITY?

‘Whether ye rise for the sake of a creed,
Or riot in hope of spoil,
Equally will I punish the deed,
Equally check the broil;
Nowise permitting injustice at all,
From whatever doctrine it springs;
But – whether ye follow Priapus or Paul,
I care for none of these things!’

In all the essentials of economic life, in coping with the everyday business of procuring the necessities of life, the achievements of the inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia matched those of their neighboring populations. The agriculturalists of the land supplied food; wooded highlands served for keeping livestock; while the rocky outcrops and rugged mountain areas were increasingly explored by prospectors who knew how to extract their natural resources. Much as before, all arts and crafts flourished.

*Bohemians, Moravians and Long-Distance Trade with the Lands of Europe, Asia and Africa*¹

During this century, maritime traffic across the Mediterranean sea expanded rapidly due to the invention of the lateen sail, which enabled sailors to maneuver their ships more efficiently, leave the coastal waters and brave the high seas². Unfortunately, corsairs of every kind, mercilessly plundering the riches amassed throughout the coastal regions of Europe, soon joined these peaceful and profit-seeking entrepreneurs. Piracy thrived, and even the Slavs resident in the coastal areas of the Balkans, especially in Dalmatia, knew how to avail themselves of such ill-gotten gains. Pirates infested the maritime trade of the Venetian

¹ I dealt with these questions at length in my earlier book (Charvát 1998).

² White 1962 and White 1978.

republic to such an extent that the Serenissima naval commanders saw it fit to organize punitive expeditions to their homes across the sea³.

The ninth-century may be justly called the century of lament and wailing. Mediterranean coasts came under attack from Muslim navies, whose speed and ruthlessness brought their commanders mastery over a number of Mediterranean islands, which were turned the natural bridge-heads for incursions in the northern shore regions⁴. Inhabitants of the Atlantic coasts of Europe were haunted by the low 'dragon ships' of notorious Scandinavian raiders⁵. These hardy warriors and experienced sailors caused havoc on the European coasts, and many a flourishing trade port or *emporium* went up in flames and ultimately perished as a result of their pillage and plunder.

These dramatic events had immediate economic consequences, since sizable groups of traders deemed the coastal waters and high seas too dangerous. They focused instead on inland trade, especially on the river Rhine and its tributaries. This is where Frisian entrepreneurs came to operate, as we have already heard⁶.

Bohemia and Moravia soon became a particular target of trade operations. With the progress of social stratification in Slav communities, more and more of the lands' elite sought to enhance their prestige and gain respect from the lower echelons of society by the ostentatious show of luxury imported goods. The collapse of the power structure of the Avar kaganate exposed to astonished westerners a host of principalities and other political bodies which had grown up within the one-time unified Avar realms. Sooner or later, the most prominent of these, chiefly Slav, polities, met with their western partners in order to bring about a common *modus vivendi* by which the population groups both within and outside the frontiers of the Carolingian empire could coexist in a peaceful manner, at least for the foreseeable future. This also led to the consolidation of the power structures beyond the frontiers of the Carolingian world, and to the stabilization of the ruling elites of the Slav border principalities. It is only natural that their members sought to legitimize their newly acquired power not only by the imitation of the manners and customs of the Carolingian world⁷, but also by the showy

³ Claude 1985, 264–266.

⁴ See, for recent contributions, Martinez 1999.

⁵ Hodges-Whitehouse 1996.

⁶ See above, Lebecq 1996.

⁷ On this see Vierck 1981, Gabriel 1986, and, for the Slav world, Štefan s. d.

display of diverse luxury goods brought into their lands by foreign merchants.

What the foreign merchants took out of the Czech lands in reward for their services is a thorny question. There is in fact just one kind of 'export merchandise' which we may be sure would have aroused commercial interest and which was unfailingly popular in the west, south and south-east; and that is the Slav slaves and slave-girls, of whom we heard in the preceding chapter.

Ninth-Century Moravia and its Distant Horizons...

The orientations of Moravia's external relations at this time, and the directions from which foreign influences entered the country, are documented by the origins of traces of imports which came to light in the land of S.S. Cyril and Methodius. First, let us look west. A set of belt fittings from grave 23/48 of the 'Na valách' cemetery at Staré-Město near the town of Uherské-Hradiště finds a parallel in one of the foremost centers of long-distance maritime trade of the period, Frisian Dorestad in the Rhine delta in the present-day Netherlands⁸. Western *oeuvres* include the front piece of the famous 'Mr. Zelnitius's chape' from Staré-Město⁹, and also such Christian items as a tiny reliquary decorated with pearls set on a silver wire, containing, between two large lenses of red glass, a relic identified as the Lord's Blood. Its origin may be sought somewhere in southern or western Europe, the most probable candidate being the Swabian Reichenau Abbey on the Bodensee¹⁰.

As for contacts with Italy, we know that Moravia supplied the most popular 'merchandise' of the early Middle Ages – slaves and slave-girls. A series of contracts with the empire, made after 840, forbade the traffic of Christian slaves, their re-sale to Muslims, and the 'production' of eunuchs¹¹. Though slave trade was abolished by several Venetian dukes of the ninth and tenth-century, it clearly continued to thrive¹². After the death of Archbishop Methodius in 885, his followers lost their freedom and were sent to Venice to be sold as slaves. Were it not for the

⁸ Excellent photographs of the Staré-Město set are available in Benda 1967, Pl. 48; for the Dorestad item see Hodges-Whitehouse 1996, 150, Fig. 65.

⁹ Benda 1967, Pls. 40–41.

¹⁰ Photo in Benda 1967, Pl. 33; for interpretation see Charvát 2001a.

¹¹ Verlinden 1977, 118.

¹² Verlinden 1977, 116 (doge Orso Particiaco 876, doge Pietro IV. Candiano 960).

chance presence of a compassionate Byzantine imperial envoy, who rescued them and set them free, they would most likely have ended up on the other side of the Mediterranean sea, serving their new Muslim masters¹³.

But Italy also supplied artistic inspiration: at the close of the ninth-century, the impressive church at Sady by Uherské-Hradiště had a supplementary chapel added to one of its sides, and thus acquired the character of a 'twin shrine', a type of building well-known south of the Alps. Such churches usually appeared in large, primarily episcopal architectural complexes, referred to in the sources either as 'ecclesia hiemalis' and 'ecclesia estivalis', or alternatively, as 'ecclesia episcopalis' and 'ecclesia canonicalis'¹⁴.

Other imports from the south and/or south-east included precious stones from Greece, probably brought in to embellish particularly prestigious components of contemporary church architecture¹⁵.

Finds of foreign glass at Moravia's oldest sites constitute a rather curious body of evidence. Surprisingly, old Roman glass, which should have gone out of use long before the ninth-century, is prominent among the local finds. Since it is difficult to imagine any commercial origin for these 'antique' wares, we can probably assume that the ninth-century Moravians acquired them by exploring old Roman ruins¹⁶. This seems the more remarkable, as one of the most fashionable types of contemporary western glassware – vessels decorated with ridges formed by spirally twisted glass threads of different colors (*reticella*) – is not found in Moravia¹⁷, though other imports of western glass do seem to have reached the local customers. The fact is, however, that glass might have been imported into Moravia from even more distant lands: 'mosaic-eyelet beads' (*Mosaikaugenperlen*) are likely to have come in from the south or east¹⁸; a fragment of a hanging glass lamp, possibly of Islamic origin, came to light at Mikulčice¹⁹. (Fig. 24)

As for the exquisite Moravian jewelery which is so admired, it is very difficult to account for the emergence of this art style. Most recent research suggests that it originated in regions along the middle and

¹³ Verlinden 1977, 118–119, Leciejewicz 1997.

¹⁴ Charvát 2001b.

¹⁵ Charvát 2001b, 86, with ref.

¹⁶ Charvát 1999b.

¹⁷ Charvát 1999b, 126–127.

¹⁸ Ungermann 2006, 358–361.

¹⁹ Himmelová 1995, 86, Cat. No. 89, Abb. 9: 7 on p. 108.

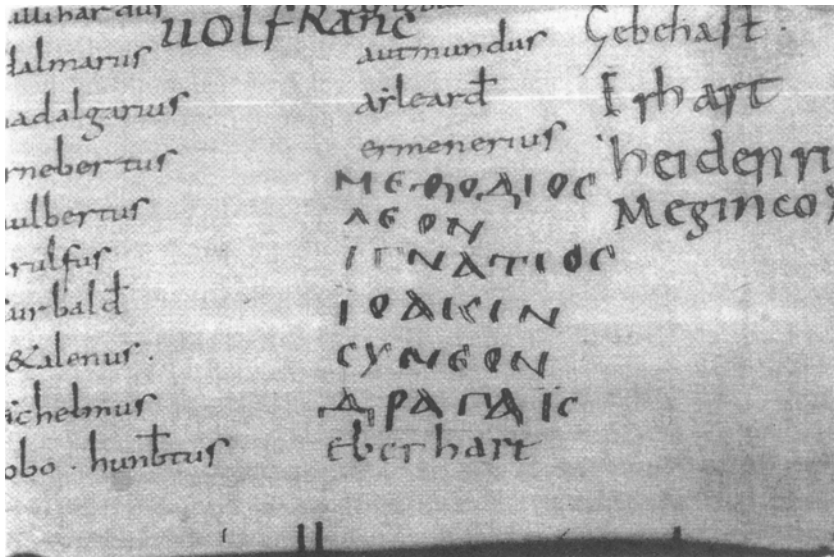


Figure 24: This is one of the pages of a book listing several thousand ninth-century benefactors of the Benedictine abbey of Reichenau, to whose memory the monks dedicated their prayers and services (Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms. Rh. hist. 27). Among them, this is the only entry written in Greek script by a practiced hand and giving six personal names: Methodios, Leon, Ignatios, Ioakin, Symeon and perhaps the Slavic name of Dragais. Does the entry commemorate the sojourn of Methodius, archbishop of Sirmium and Moravia, who stayed in an unidentified imperial monastery in 870–873?

lower course of the Danube, where it is supposed to have developed on the foundations of old Late Antiquity applied-art, with innovations from the east such as the decorative technique of granulation, unknown in Roman or early Byzantine jewelry.²⁰

A feature worth noting is represented by the relatively abundant finds of Moravian ninth-century silks. Rather than coming in from the west, it seems more logical to assume deliveries from the south (Italy?), south-east (Byzantium, or any of the countries acquiring their silk from there), or even from the east, where this precious textile definitely circulated in lands linked by the Silk Road²¹. At least some patterns on Moravian jewelry, especially on the spherical buttons or *gombíky*, point to eastern

²⁰ Kóčka-Krenz 1993, esp. pp. 143–157. See also the most recent observations in studies by Simon Ungermann.

²¹ Charvát 1998, 44, fn. 271, see also Březinová 1997, *passim*. The eastern connection might have been mediated by the famous Radhaniya merchants, though present opinion on their role – and on their very existence – is far from unanimous. See, most recently, de la Vaissière 2002, 180–182.

origin; the images of birds with a drop-like shape or four dots by the beak²², for instance, probably allude to the *anneau à trois pendentifs* which is known from Sasanian imagery²³.

... Compared to Those of Bohemia

From the viewpoint of art, ninth-century Bohemia clearly drew its inspiration from Moravia. Yet it also possessed its own manner of expression, based on that of its eastern neighbor but distinctive enough to arouse the interest of specialists in the character of Bohemian ninth-century creativity. In Bohemian archeological sites, Moravian-style jewelery either turns up alone, or together with finds of unquestionably western origin. Such is the case at the ninth to tenth-century elite cemetery in central Bohemia, on the bank of a sacred spring, on top of the hill on which the fortified site of Stará-Kouřim is situated²⁴. (Fig. 25)

Cases in which Moravian-style jewelery appears among high-quality finds of different stylistic affiliation present a more complex problem. Let us consider the example of the double burial site of a gentleman and lady of wealthy means, unearthed in 1864 in Mr. Souček's brick kiln at Kolín-nad-Labem in central Bohemia, some 50 kilometers east of Prague²⁵. This find seems to present a whole network of contemporary commercial, social and spiritual references. Of the two bodies lying in state in the sizable burial chamber, the lady wore predominantly

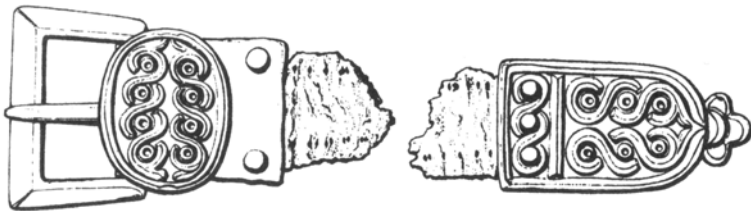


Figure 25: A waist-belt clasp and its chape (strap-end mount) from ninth to tenth-century graves at Kouřim (Šolle 1984, 151 Fig. 62).

²² Dekan 1981, fig. on p. 171.

²³ Gyselen 1990.

²⁴ All data and references in Šolle 1984, and now in Profantová 2001; see also Profantová 2000b.

²⁵ On the Kolín interment see Lutovský 1996a, Lutovský 1996b, Profantová-Macháček 2000, Charvát 2005 and now Lutovský 2008. Good photographs may be found in Benda 1967, Pls. 55–59.

Moravian-style jewelry, while the gentleman received burial gifts of a considerably more diverse character. The individual items of his funerary dress were known virtually throughout Europe. A tiny chape, decorating one of the strap-ends of his outfit, is probably of Anglo-Saxon origin²⁶. The exquisite set of belt fittings with stunning floral decoration would seem to emanate from a goldsmith's workshop employing the art style peculiar to the milieu of Drogo, a natural son of Charlemagne (801–855)²⁷, and archbishop of Metz, now in France. Upon recent examination, a necklace pendant made of bone matter with gold fittings adjusted to its shape (thus attesting to the great value ascribed to it by its bearer) proved to be of elephant ivory, or possibly of hippopotamus or mammoth tusk²⁸. This fact most probably points us due south, to the markets of the Mediterranean regions where such exotic materials could be acquired. In addition to these precious dress items, the Kolín gentleman was laid to rest with a sword, a battle-ax, and a set of glass vessels most probably imported from the Rhineland²⁹. (Fig. 26)

This group of finds displays a character so heterogeneous and, at the same time, so outstanding in its artistic finish, that further explanation is required to account for these features. Here a parallel that may prove relevant can be cited. In 836, Harald Klak, a pretender to the Danish royal throne, decided to embrace Christianity at the court of Emperor Louis the Pious. Ermold the Black, a chronicler of this event, lists the baptism gifts bestowed by the emperor and his consort on the new convert and his wife, and, in fact, this list reads very much like the inventory of the Kolín-nad-Labem grave. The assumption that the Kolín grave entombs a Bohemian convert to Christianity and his wife could then point to one of the most famous events of this kind known from Bohemian history; namely the baptism of fourteen Bohemian chieftains with their entourages (*quatuordecim ex ducibus Bohemannorum*) by the agency of Louis the German at Regensburg in 845³⁰. This, however, will tell us little about long-distance exchanges occurring under common, ordinary, 'civil' circumstances.

A similar situation characterizes the third, and, in fact, the last of the elite graves of ninth-century Bohemia; the interment of a lady of

²⁶ Benda 1967, Pl. 59, lower, for parallels see Wilson 1984.

²⁷ All references in Lutovský 1996b.

²⁸ Benda 1967, Pl. 59, upper.

²⁹ Lutovský 1996b.

³⁰ Charvát 2005, most recently Goldberg 2006, 139 fn. 88.

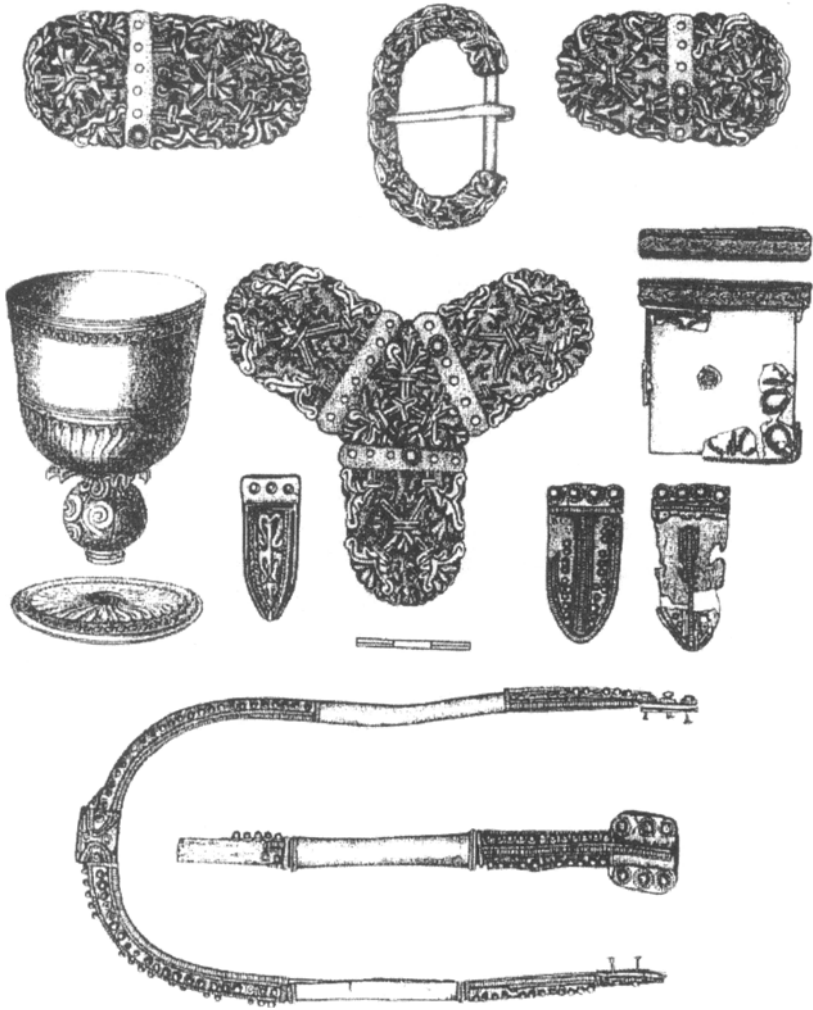


Figure 26: A sample of objects found in an elite double interment at Kolín-nad-Labem, dating from the second half of the ninth-century (Lutovský 1996b).

high-status under a funerary barrow at Želénky by Duchcov (Dux) in northwestern Bohemia³¹. This lady was buried with ornaments of domestic origin; ‘grape’-type earrings and large spherical buttons usually called *gombíky*. Yet she also received other, more conspicuous burial gifts that indicate her position was such that she could acquire goods

³¹ Benda 1967, Pls. 60–65, Lutovský 1996a, Charvát 1999a, 16, Profantová-Militký 2000.

from far beyond the Bohemian frontiers. First and foremost, this pertains to a gilt silver plaque depicting a harnessed stag with a bird sitting on its back³². This icon is very interesting since it may provide references to more than one ideational system. The generalities of its art style point to the sphere of post-Sasanian art of the Near East, in which stag images appear, sometimes with inscriptions that denote positive connotations³³. On the other hand, the long tongue protruding from the stag's mouth could allude to the medieval superstition that stags eat snakes, in which case the figure of the stag constitutes a metaphor of Jesus Christ and his victory over the devil. In addition to this, the bird sitting on the stag's back could represent a human soul that has been saved by Jesus Christ. It would be very difficult to decide which is the right interpretation, but this ambiguity undoubtedly illustrates the complex nature of spiritual constructs circulating throughout the world of Bohemian ninth-century elites. The western and/or southern connections of the Želénky burial site may be adduced from a medallion bearing a Late Antiquity cameo, whose background of filigree ornament perhaps points to the Rhineland³⁴. In this instance, the lady buried *more paganorum* under a funerary barrow certainly professed the Christian faith. Archeologists of the original 1850 excavation noted that she wore a textile head-covering on which a cross of sheet silver had been sewn³⁵. Unfortunately, neither this cross, nor an ivory handle also reported to have lain in the grave, survived the process of being lifted from the burial chamber. (Fig. 27)

In this case also, we have to carefully weigh up all the evidence, and decide how far this high-status burial reflects common trends and typical features of long-distance trade practices, and how far it might be a purely personal monument to a lady of rank who brought her possessions with her to Bohemia, lived and died there and was buried in her new homeland.

The east-west connection of long-distance contacts is also borne out by other finds. The eastern connection was manifested by a splendid iron ax plated with silver, found at Stará-Kouřim³⁶ and pointing to an origin perhaps in the Pontic regions or even beyond them. A find of silk turned up here as well, though in one of the late graves of the second third of the 10th-century (No. 23), when Stará-Kouřim fell under the

³² Benda 1967, Pls. 60–61.

³³ Charvát 2007b, 17, and 24 fig.12.

³⁴ Benda 1967, Pls. 63–64.

³⁵ Sklenář 1985, 67–68, Fig.7 on p. 68; Profantová-Militký 2000, 188.

³⁶ Benda 1967, Pl. 68.

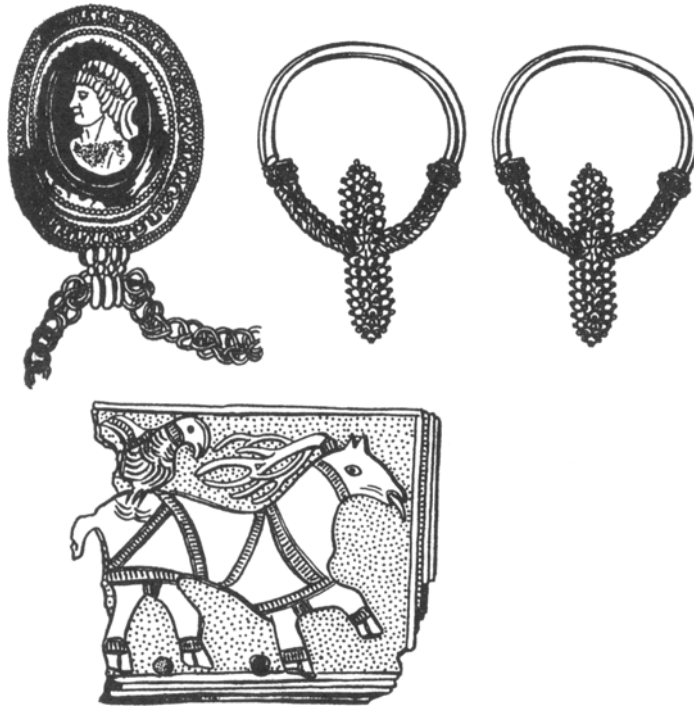


Figure 27: Part of the funerary accouterments of a lady of rank buried under a funerary barrow at Želénky near Duchcov, Bohemia (Bláhová-Frolík-Profantová 1999, 227).

power of the Přemyslids of central Bohemia and lost its prime position. We shall not go far wrong then, if we consider this find a testimony to times of former glory³⁷. We shall also do well to remember that the transport of Rhenish wine in Frisian amphorae, referred to in the previous chapter, very likely continued into this period.

Bohemian Social Structures

A mere glance at the ethnic structure of Bohemia will tell us how greatly times have changed. The 'old tribes' (*Srbové* = Serbians, *Charváti* = Croats, *Doudlebi*, *Lemuzi*) seem not only to have broken down into smaller units, but to have changed their ethnic character and become completely 'Slavinized'. Their names now designated smaller population

³⁷ Březinová 1997, 163, col b.

groups, most likely inhabitants of single villages ('ethnographic groups', as Josef Kandert pertinently calls them). The large groupings of non-Slavic names, which they probably brought with them from the Pontic areas from which they dispersed, gave way to smaller configurations frequently named by reference to the place or region where they found common residence, designated by the locative suffix *-ani, -ané*. By way of example, we can name 'tribes' known from later history such as *Děčané* (after the Děčín Castle and region in north Bohemia), *Žatčané* (after the walled site of Žatec, northwest Bohemia), or *Slezané* (after a mountain called Ślęza in Silesia and the surrounding region). A Late Antiquity parallel is offered by the Alpine Slav group named *Carantani* after the area of Caranta. Many more examples can be cited from the Balkans: a 'tribe' of *Neretvané* named after the Neretva river, another of the *Zachlumané* (those who live beyond a hill = *za chlumem*), or *Duklané*, named after the Late Antiquity city of Dioklea = Dukla³⁸. There is also, of course, the *Vislané* (after the Visla = Vistula river) and the *Polané* (those who live among fields = *pole*) of Poland. It is therefore of interest that at the beginning of the ninth-century, the age-old ethnonym referring to the natives of Bohemia, BOHEMI, appears in the sources in the form *Bohemani*³⁹.

The essential linguistic unity of the Slav world is still thought to have prevailed in the ninth-century; Slavic languages probably separated into individual sub-groups only after 1000 A.D.⁴⁰

As to the inner structuring of these population groups, we must confess almost complete ignorance. We know that their fighting men manned castles, were directed by elite leaders who commanded them in war, and sometimes fell on the battlefield. How far we may see them as lineages, clan segments or even clans remains a mystery, however.

The BOHEMI Again

How did all these transformations affect the position of the ancient lords of the country, the mysterious group that appears in the sources as

³⁸ Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea of the Kingdom of the Slavs, of which the editions are listed in MMFH 2008, 247. On the chronicle itself see now Curta 2006b, 14–15.

³⁹ For instance, Annals of Xanten ad 846, eloquently 'contra Boemannos...quos nos Beuwinitha vocamus' (MMFH 2008, 63).

⁴⁰ On this see Rehder 1998.

BOHEMI? It seems that much like the other socio-political units of the country, the BOHEMI became thoroughly ‘Slavinized’, and may even have already adopted the name of *Češi* (sg. *Čech*). This is indicated by an entry in the *Annales Tilliani* of the year 805, where an army is sent *in terram Sclavorum qui vocabantur Cinu*⁴¹, as against their supposed *Vorlage*, the *Annales regni Francorum*, which has ...*Sclavorum qui vocantur Beheimi*⁴². But did they really feel themselves to be Bohemians, *Češi*, the proud overlords of the country?

A description of the political structures of ninth-century Bohemia has been found in a unique written document called *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*, known, for short, as the Bavarian Geographer (henceforth B.G.). The record, surviving in one of the codices of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich, most probably dates from the first half of the ninth-century⁴³. B.G. presents a list of population units residing along the northern bank of the Danube river and in adjacent regions. The individual entries of this list give ethnonyms of the respective population groups, as well as the number of their castles (*civitates*). Despite its dry character, it is a document of major importance, as it supplies names which definitely do not derive from Late Antiquity traditions.

Two B.G. ethnonyms may be instantly identified as referring to Bohemian territory. These are *Beheimare*, *Marharii* (presumably Moravia), and, surprisingly enough, *Merehani*, with a castle count different to that of the *Marharii*. The next entry is *Fraganeo*, which sounds very much as though it pertains to the Prague region. The fact is that the origins of Prague Castle are now sought sometime before 850⁴⁴. Why does the text distinguish between *Beheimare* and *Fraganeo*?

If we have had some problems up to now, however, the other three ethnonyms given by B.G. and possibly pertaining to Bohemian territory are a total mystery. The two names *Verizane* and *Besunzane*, for which this is the only historical evidence, may refer to groups residing along the northern borders of Bohemia, and we will do well to notice in both cases the eloquent *-ané* suffix. The *Lupiglaa* leaves us

⁴¹ MMFH 2008, 56, ad 805.

⁴² MMFH 2008, 40, ad 805.

⁴³ Nový 1968, 131–149, but see Třeštík 1997, 477–479. The Latin text is accessible at: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayerischer_Geograph, quoted March 5, 2009. See also Curta 2006b, 20.

⁴⁴ On this see Profantová 1989, and especially Frolík-Smetánka 1997.

completely in the dark. Were these 'stupid heads' (**hloupé hlavy*), or 'head-hunters' (**loupi hlavy*)?

There is one significant absence in B.G., that being that there is no mention of the 'old tribes', *Doudlebi*, *Charváti* and *Lemuzi*. These had obviously vanished from the scene as major agents of historical development, although they did survive in the form of toponyms denoting individual settlements. In this form, they continued into the age of the Přemyslid unification of Bohemia (10th-11th century), when a number of them are known as settlements of people transferred to a new location on the orders of the land's overlord. It is interesting to observe that they were usually moved from the center to regions different to that of their original residence. The Doudlebi, originally of southern Bohemia, were thus transferred to eastern Bohemia, Serbians of northern Bohemia found a new home in central and southern Bohemia, and the Croats of northeastern Bohemia in northwestern Bohemia. All of this was obviously in line with the traditional policy of conquerors who transferred subject populations to new locations in order to sever their connections with their homelands and render them more susceptible to government control⁴⁵.

Ninth-Century Bohemia: Conflict and Collapse

A unique written source has shown us the profound changes that Bohemian society underwent in the ninth-century. Let us now review the archeological sources, which point to an even greater entanglement of social contradictions.

That ninth-century Bohemia was a period of major transition is illustrated by the destruction and construction of castles. During this time, a number of earlier fortifications perished, were abandoned and never rebuilt, while at the same time a number of new strongholds emerged⁴⁶. First and foremost, this pertained to Prague itself, where three early enclosures, those of Šárka, Bohnice and Butovice, were deserted⁴⁷. (Fig. 28) In central Bohemia, an entire group of castles in the Šembera-river basin which had survived peacefully for over a century – namely Klučov, Doubravčice, Hryzely, Tismice, and probably

⁴⁵ Sláma 1985.

⁴⁶ Archeological data are dealt with in Čtverák-Lutovský-Slabina-Smejtek 2003.

⁴⁷ For the Prague area see Lutovský 2005.



Figure 28: This western Frankish coin, minted at Melle, Aquitania, between the years 845 and 850, turned up at the hill-fort of Praha-Šárka (Sláma 1988, 59 Fig. 23).

also Přistoupim – fell into disuse. A fortification near Kounice in the Nymburk district of central Bohemia did not survive beyond the year 900. Take also the Kutná-Hora region, where of four ninth-century castles – Chlístovice-SiÓN, Cimburk, Malín and Čáslav – only Malín and Čáslav survived into the tenth-century. Even the ancient stronghold of Rubín by Podbořany in northwestern Bohemia fell into oblivion during this period, much like the Bezemín Castle in southwestern Bohemia, or the Nemějice fortified site in southern Bohemia which was clearly the target of enemy action. A most unusual situation confronts us in eastern Bohemia, and especially in the case of a series of border fortifications at its northeastern tip. The Kal hill-fort, perishing around 800, is quickly succeeded by the ninth-century enclosures of Holovousy and Češov. In their turn, they were replaced by the more permanent Ostroměř fort, probably established around the end of the ninth-century.

Crisis and collapse clearly befell coeval Bohemian society, and data from written sources adds to this general impression. As we have already heard, fourteen Bohemian chieftains were baptized in Bavarian Regensburg in 845. Why is it that we have evidence for just one of them, buried, most probably with his consort, at Kolín-nad-Labem? Where are the others? How is it that religious artifacts such as a Communion chalice, undoubtedly of crucial importance for Christian worship as a guarantee of resurrection and salvation of the soul, was interred in the grave of the Kolín lord? Why was the Želénky lady, undoubtedly a Christian of the highest social rank, not buried in a Christian cemetery, but *more paganorum* under a funerary barrow?

This context of general uncertainty is illustrated by another report from written sources. In 857, a detachment of Frankish troops entered

Bohemia in order to dislodge a certain prince named Sclavitag (*Slavitěch?), son of Wiztrach (*Vyšestrach?), *qui tyrannidam... exercebat*⁴⁸. Sclavitag's residence is now sought at the walled site of Zabuřany, close to Bílina, in northwestern Bohemia⁴⁹. Sclavitag took refuge in Moravia, and the Franks installed his brother, whom he had earlier evicted and who lived in exile with the Serbian prince named Čestibor, as a new lord.

It is very difficult to account for this series of disasters and failures. What we might be witnessing, however, is the break-down of the now virtually defunct 'old tribes,' and the mutually destructive and bloody wars of their successor groups for hegemony over land and people. Something similar happened during this period in neighboring Bavaria. The old and established local lineages, *genealogiae*, attested to from the very beginning of the Bavarian nation (Huosi, Fagana, Anniona, Drozza, Hachilinga)⁵⁰, fell apart in the ninth-century. The succeeding nobility of ninth to tenth-century Bavaria issued from among the descendants of office-holders appointed by Charlemagne and his successors.

Prague Castle: the Sun and the Stone, Mithra and the Duke

In order to gain a greater insight into events in ninth-century Bohemia, let us now turn our attention to what would later become its center. Overlooking the Vltava river, the future Prague is situated on a long, rocky promontory, whose deep strata tell us of its earliest existence.

Specialists in the archeology of Prague Castle now propose that the establishment of this capital site of early medieval Bohemia took place in four major phases⁵¹.

The very first traces of human activities upon the castle promontory (Phase One) consist of a medieval ditch which enclosed a major part of the castle ridge area. This was not exactly of monumental dimensions (depth 1.2 – 2 m, maximum width 4 m), and the impression is therefore that it was a demarcation line rather than a means of fortification.

⁴⁸ *Annales Fuldenses*, MMFH 2008, 95–96, ad 857.

⁴⁹ Čtverák-Lutovský-Slabina-Smejtek 2003, 352.

⁵⁰ Hardt 2003b.

⁵¹ Frolík-Smetánka 1997, and Frolík 2002. See also the most recent summary of the available evidence in Frolík et al. 2009.

Phase Two, for which the source base is much less comprehensible, left occupation strata in a series of loci along the castle ridge. Sometimes these strata even filled in the old ditch.

Phase Three saw the establishment of a small but very important cemetery at the castle's highest point, close to the present-day western half of St. Guy's cathedral where the beautiful Mrákotín granite obelisk now stands. This cemetery must have entombed the most important early occupants of the castle⁵².

Finally, a massive fortification in the form of an earth-and-clay rampart was erected above the long disused Phase One ditch during Phase Four, the date of which is likely to be around 900 A.D. (Fig. 29)

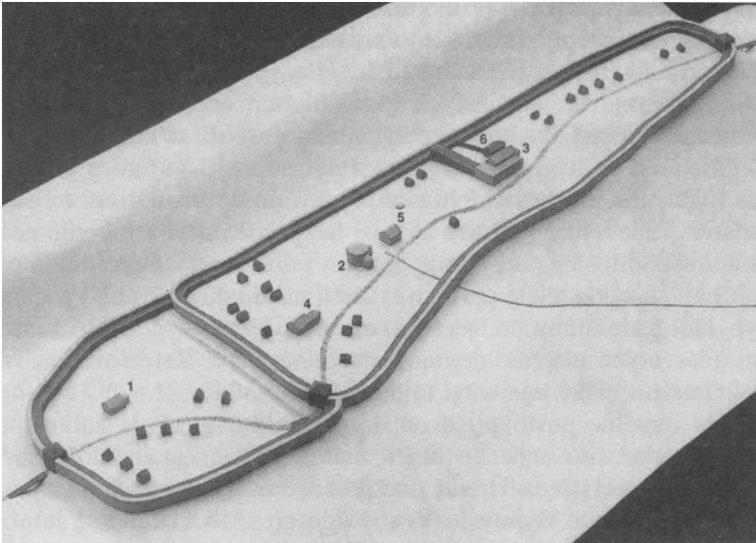


Figure 29: A reconstruction of Prague Castle in the early tenth-century. Numbers denote Christian churches: 1 – Virgin Mary; 2 – St. Guy; 3 – St. George. Saint George's nunnery bears the number 6. The elite residences shown are the bishop's house (No. 4) and the ducal palace (No. 5). The Žiži hillock, where we presume offerings were made, was situated on the top of a rocky outcrop between the bishop's house (No. 4) and St. Guy's church (No. 2). The ducal stone throne, the ancient *columna mundi*, is most probably to be sought close to the ducal palace (No. 5) (Frolík 2000).

⁵² Tomková 2005; on the interment IIN-199, discovered here, see most recently Jan Frolík, in *Příběh Pražského Hradu – Zpravodaj I/2007*, accessible at: http://www.pribeh-hradu.cz/data/zpravodaj/Zpravodaj-01-07_def.pdf, quoted March 7, 2009.

From the very beginning of statehood in Bohemia, Prague Castle constituted one of its chief manifestations. For centuries, the overlordship of Bohemia and Moravia rested with the masters of Prague Castle. Can we explain how this came about?

In order to grasp the meaning which the ancients ascribed to this noble residence, we have to take into account not only the overall sequence of archeological features within the castle, but also other constituents of its social and ritual role which did not survive into the present age. In this connection, two items warrant particular attention.

The first of these is referred to only once in the written sources. The Chronicle of the Bohemians by the Prague Canon Cosmas (1045–1125) mentions a hillock called *Sisi*. This has been recorded as the highest place within the grounds, from which one of the Přemyslid warriors sounded a horn of rebellion against the Polish conquerors of the castle in 1004. The name is likely to derive from a word like *Žiži or *Žiž, referring to a place dried out and parched by the sun, or possibly to a place burnt by fire. According to the latest research into the original castle grounds,⁵³ the place must have been situated either somewhere below the western part of the present-day St. Guy cathedral, or else by St. George's monastery. The St. Guy site may be a more likely site for the *Sisi* due to its location to the elite cemetery by the granite obelisk⁵⁴.

The other item that warrants our attention, and which has deserved much more popularity over the centuries of historical research, is the stone throne *in medio castris Pragensis*, on which the descendants of the Přemysl dynasty assumed suzerainty over the land. The ceremony itself has been described by Cosmas the Chronicler as follows: the oldest surviving member of the Přemysl lineage led the candidate towards the throne, and, having seated him upon it, presented him to the assembled electors with the words: 'Lo, your duke!' The new suzerain was then acclaimed by the assembly with jubilant shouts of approval and noise of every kind. Every candidate for the ducal throne of Bohemia had to meet two conditions: he had to be of the Přemysl lineage (*de stirpe*), and he had to assume office by solemn enthronement on the Prague Castle stone throne.

There was another, third condition for anyone wishing to become an early medieval duke of Bohemia, and the sources that uncovered it are

⁵³ Frolík et al. 2009, fig. On p. 31.

⁵⁴ See Tomková 2005.

of a rather specific kind. The earliest seals of Přemysl dynasty suzerains feature the figure of St. Wenceslas on one side and the erect figure of the reigning duke on the other. The legend on the ducal side of the seals reads: PAX DUCIS / REGIS' so-and-so 'IN MANU SANCTI VENCEZLAI⁵⁵. Moreover, the free population of early medieval Bohemia paid the dukes a yearly tax called *tributum pacis*.

These data clearly indicate that in addition to meeting the two above mentioned conditions, any duke of Bohemia also had to be imbued with *pax* (later *pax ducis / regis in manu sancti Wencezlai*). What kind of thing was this suzerain-making *pax*, and how did the dukes acquire it?

Dušan Třeštík has identified the *pax*, (Old Czech *mir*) with Mihr, the Middle Persian pronunciation of the name of the Vedic and Avestan god Mithra, who plays a prominent role in Mazdaism and Manicheism (but less so in modern Hinduism). Mithra, a major Indo-European deity, an incarnation of the sun, kept all the processes that give form to this world in motion, guaranteed the fertility of arable land, embodied peace and social harmony, and also infused power in warriors fighting for a just cause. Sasanian royal administration (226–637 n.l.) symbolized the participation of the three estates, or three component social groupings, of Iranian society, by three fires dedicated to the tutelary deities of these estates: Atur Gushnasp, fire of the warriors, Atur Farnbag, fire of the priests, and Atur Burzen Mihr, fire of the producers, especially of peasants. Since the Umayyad khalif Omar II (717–720) outlawed further destruction of fire temples, some of these shrines survived the Muslim conquest, and a seal of an officiant of a fire temple of 'noble Mithra' was present in the last hoard find of Sasanian and post-Sasanian sealings at Qasr-i Abu Nasr. Numerous arguments point to the possibility that elements of the Mithraic faith spread through Armenia, which maintained contacts with the east of the German-speaking region from at least the tenth-century⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ See the data summary in Třeštík 1997; most recently Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Opácić 2007, 238–239, and Kuthan 2008.

⁵⁶ On Mithra in the Middle Ages see chiefly Russell 1987, *passim*, esp. pp. 261–287, Boyce 1996, Klíma-Vavroušek 1997, Schmithausen 1997, Russell 2004, Hinnels 2006, esp. pp. 310–315, and Woodard 2006, *passim*, esp. pp. 3–4, 19, 59 and 94–95. The Qasr-i Abu Nasr finds were published by Richard Frye (1973). I acknowledge here the valuable advice of Professor Touraj Daryaee of the University of California at Irvine, California, USA. Contacts between eastern parts of the German-speaking area and Armenia: Bischoff 1984a.

In the early Middle Ages, Mithra is sometimes a deity, sometimes a pact, but mostly the sun⁵⁷.

The *mir* lexeme was, of course, already present in the earliest Slavic lexical thesaurus, and the Slavs could have brought it to Bohemia from their original homeland. Thus, we could say, we need not worry about Mithra and the origins of the Bohemian state; it was all already there, in the language of the first Slav inhabitants of Bohemia.

We could indeed – were it not for some peculiar features of the topography of Prague Castle. When one looks at its original landscape,⁵⁸ the strange locations of the first Christian churches is immediately apparent⁵⁹. The most ancient Christian place of worship, the church of the Virgin Mary, built by the Dukes Bořivoj (? *ante* 890) and Spytihněv (*ante* 890 – 905?), is situated west of the original castle area enclosed by the old ditch and the rampart fortification, though it occupies a hierarchically correct position on a hillock. Duke Vratislav (905?– 915) the founder of the second church, that of St George, chose an even stranger location, that being on a gentle slope within the ramparts but east of the central castle area.

Why was it that before Wenceslas (921–935), none of the earliest Přemyslid dukes chose to stamp the center of their residence with a mark of Christianity? What kind of magic protected this spot, and put it out of bounds for the endeavor of Bohemia's first Christians?

Here I will consult one of the most recent treatises on Indo-European cultural anthropology⁶⁰. A traditional Indo-European rite concerning the claim of suzerainty over a land involved first making a sacrificial offering to the great gods (possibly Indra and Varuna, probably Mithra) in the western part of the sacred area, where the sacrificer solicited the favor of the deities for the success of the ritual act. Subsequently, an upright stone, *columna mundi*, was erected at the eastern end of the sacred area, which embodied the suzerainty claim over the land and was dedicated to war gods and especially to Mithra (Mihir in the Middle Persian pronunciation = Slavic *mir*)⁶¹.

⁵⁷ I thank Professor Touraj Daryaee of the University of California at Irvine, California, USA, for this information.

⁵⁸ Frolík et al. 2009, fig. on p. 31.

⁵⁹ On these now Frolík 2001 and Frolík 2002.

⁶⁰ Woodard 2006.

⁶¹ Woodard 2006, 62–64, 94–95, 252 and 266.

The topography of Prague Castle in no way contradicts the ritual requirements for carrying out this ceremony. The sacrificer is advised to find the highest point of the local landscape, slanting from east to west, and also, if possible, to look toward the north for the location of the first sacred place where he will offer his service. This spot then becomes the western part of the sacred area, as described above⁶². Study of the original castle landscape indicates that this location may be sought somewhere under the present-day St. Guy's cathedral, and quite possibly close to the granite obelisk where the Sisi site may have been. The eastern end with the *columna mundi* will then be somewhere under the central or eastern part of the cathedral.

Two aspects of this ceremony warrant particular attention. Firstly, its primary goal lies in the claim for suzerainty over the territory in question. Secondly, its validity is by no means limited geographically; it legitimizes the initiator's suzerainty over as much land as he or she can realistically rule.

I imagine that after the takeover of a younger branch of the Přemyslid lineage, probably in the 880s, the western sacrificial site became a cemetery where at least one prominent member of their entourage was laid to rest among his followers. In its turn, the eastern *columna mundi*, home of Mihr (Mithra), became the stone throne upon which lineage members were enthroned as rulers of Bohemia.

Apart from the general Indo-European parallels and the topography of Prague Castle, are there any other arguments for the hypothesis I have just presented?

Some time ago, Michal Lutovský brought our attention to a speech addressed to the Duke and first King of Bohemia, Vratislav II (1061–1092) by his ally, Count Wiprecht of Groitzsch⁶³. Wiprecht alluded most flatteringly to the noble descent of the Bohemian suzerain, whose remote ancestor named Bougo had once exercised suzerainty 'as far as the land of the Seringi' (the borderland of China). Surprising as it may seem, this information contains a kernel of truth. The rulers of the Second Turkish

⁶² Woodard 2006, 252.

⁶³ Lutovský 1998, 153–154. Wiprecht's address is contained in the *Annales Pegavenses*, p. 236, ll. 37–47: *Memini quendam antecessorum tuorum Bougonem dici, cuius principatui non dicam comites aliosve nobilitate opibusque pollentes, immo duces et marchiones militabant. Is adeptus dominium nomenque regium, in provinciam Seringorum suum dilataverat imperium, aliisque principibus acque potentibus famosior et eminentior claruit. Wiprecht collected the relevant information at Vratislav II's court: Post aliquod tempus, sicut ipse (Wiprecht) cunctis, quis aut quantus esset, innotuerat...*

kaganate (ca. 680-744), who really held power over central and western Asia as far as the Chinese frontiers, boasted the title *baga*. This cannot be explained by reference to any of the Turkic languages or to Chinese⁶⁴. It might, however, derive from the Iranian word *baga*, meaning, in general, 'a deity', but referring in particular to Mithra⁶⁵. In this instance, Bohemian dukes would have been identified with Mithra⁶⁶.

It is no wonder then that Přemyslid seals bear the mysterious *pax ducis in manu sancti* formula, referring to the peace of the ruling duke or king (i.e. his capacity to rule as suzerain) in the hand of the saint, without parallels in the central European states of the early Middle Ages⁶⁷.

The Shrine and the Throne

Let me now try to put forward my hypothesis as clearly and concisely as possible. The eighth-century saw major developments within Bohemia, developments of which we, due to the lack of sources, know next to nothing. Newly arriving groups, coming perhaps from the east or south-east, possibly from as far as the Pontic area (*Doudlebi*, Croats), not only settled down and founded new homes, but also sought to adopt a new identity. Being surrounded by Slavs – settled agriculturalists with a higher rate of population-growth than nomadic groups – these newcomers were soon pervaded by Slav characteristics and were ultimately fully 'Slavinized'. This presented a major task to the ancient rulers of the land, the BOHEMI. They had to take measures that would preserve their dominant position of power, and be a unifying social body that kept the land's most diverse ethnic elements together to try and maintain the common identity of the inhabitants of the country.

To these ends, they devised an ingenious plan, leaning on ancient ideas probably brought from their original homeland and borrowed from speakers of Indo-European languages taking refuge in the west after the Muslim conquest of central Asia (Sogdians). This plan laid the foundations for the subsequent development of the fully formed early medieval state of Bohemia.

⁶⁴ Jisl 1997, 78–79.

⁶⁵ Sims-Williams 1991, and Woodard 2006, 4, 59.

⁶⁶ See Charvát 2007, 161–162 a 170.

⁶⁷ For formulae on Polish dynastic seals see Piech 1993; Kiss 2000a and 2000b describes the earliest Hungarian royal seals.

Perhaps on the initiative of the BOHEMI, representatives of the individual Bohemian social groups came together on the site which is now Prague. There, they solemnly carried out the ancient Indo-European ritual of claiming suzerainty over the land. They located the initial point of the ceremony, where the sacrificer first addressed the great gods, an elevated spot somewhere below the western part of the present-day St. Guy's cathedral, perhaps close to the site where a small but elite cemetery was later founded. Subsequently, they had an upright stone, *columna mundi*, erected at the eastern end of the sacred area which embodied the suzerainty claim over the land. This site is likely to have been somewhere below the central part of St. Guy's cathedral. The entire area was then demarcated by the first ditch enclosing the medieval area of the castle-to-be⁶⁸.

I then imagine that after the takeover of a younger branch of the Přemyslid lineage, probably in the 880s, the western sacrificial site became a cemetery where at least one prominent member of their entourage was laid to rest among his followers⁶⁹. In its turn, the eastern *columna mundi*, home of Mihr (Mithra), became the stone throne upon which members of the lineage were enthroned as rulers of Bohemia. By being seated on the stone throne, the new suzerain's body was infused with Mithra's divine essence, and the duke became permeated with 'Mithra-hood'. In this manner, the Bohemian duke obtained the *pax*, that is, 'Mithra as capacity to rule supremely'.

The whole ceremony acquired such importance that no assumption of Bohemia's highest office was conceivable without it. The notion of suzerainty over Bohemia and the right to rule it were firmly linked to this particular ritual, which, to a considerable extent, embodied the doctrine of the early state of Bohemia. It must therefore have survived into Christian times, probably due to a masterly tactical move on the part of Duke Wenceslas, later Saint Wenceslas of Bohemia (921–935). By building a Christian church – the first predecessor of St. Guy's cathedral – between the two original sacrificial sites where the ancient ceremony had once taken place, he subdued Mithra, became his lord and master and subordinated him to the Christian doctrine. Henceforth, every new suzerain of Bohemia continued to be imbued with Mithra

⁶⁸ How this might have happened can be seen in Woodard 2006, esp. pp. 62–64, 94–95, 252 and 266.

⁶⁹ But Mithra is also a deity of the deceased, and an underworld judge: Russell 1987, 262, 304.

upon enthronement, but this was a 'Mithra in the hand of St. Wenceslas', or *pax ducis/regis in manu sancti Wenczlai* (of the Přemyslid seals). By this action, Wenceslas convinced his subjects that the ancient doctrine, upon which the Přemyslid state was founded, would survive into a new era in a Christian version. He thus provided a smooth transition between the ancient Indo-European notion of the suzerainty and the new, Christian doctrine of 'rule by the will of God'.

I do not deny that the hypothesis I am presenting here leans on ethnographic parallels and indications, and that it may be disproved by future research. Yet I believe that it is at least worth trying to find the reasons behind the extraordinary stability of the core of the Přemysl dynasty state. Why did nobody ever raise serious doubts about the right of the Přemyslids to rule the land as its suzerains? The fact is that neither Poland nor Hungary, where the foundations of the state are unquestionably Christian, and where the development of the initial statehood was a great deal more turbulent than in Bohemia, display any traces of a similar idea⁷⁰. The Scandinavian 'peace and good year' lacks the universal dimension of the peace (= *pax* = *mir* = Mithra) present in the ancient Czech hymn 'Hospodine pomiluj ny'⁷¹ (see the text in the preceding chapter).

It is tempting to fall into a belief that the early state of Bohemia was founded upon the idea of loyalty to an oath that these ancient ancestors once swore to each other, and to an omnipresent celestial power, from whose all-seeing eye there was no escape. Indeed, the idea of mutual trust and reliance on an impeccable ethical record before an omniscient agency seems to be a most attractive foundation for any state doctrine – for an ancient state doctrine, of course, since this idea is obviously very dated today.

Parallels in this Country...

Do we have any evidence that the practice of pre-Christian cults occupied a similar position in other coeval Bohemian sites as well as Prague Castle? We do know of such cases, and at least two of these sites have been excavated. The highest point of the Stará-Kouřim hill-fort in

⁷⁰ The monumental *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* (Dictionary of Slav Antiquities) does not even have an independent entry for Mithra.

⁷¹ Třeščík 2003, 112.

east-central Bohemia, to which reference has already been made, included an enclosed elite cemetery by a sacred spring or lake called Libušinka. The excavator of Kouřim, Mr. Miloš Šolle, was fortunate enough to have come across a similar feature at another walled site of the period, Hradsko-Kanina by Mělník in central Bohemia. This was enclosed by an irregular circular ditch filled with ashy strata in which discarded objects such as pottery shards and metal and bone artifacts were deposited. A cult interpretation seems to apply here.

We shall probably learn most from the archeological record of the Kanina site. The circular/oval shaped precinct was enclosed by a ditch filled with refuse that presumably resulted from the activities performed within it. Ashy strata imply the presence of (sacred) fire(s), and could allude to the worship of a fire or solar deity. Objects found in the ditch could, in turn, be interpreted as the remains of sacrifices offered there⁷².

A recent excavation revealed traces of a similar installation on top of the Bacín hill, by the community of Suchomasty in the Bohemian-Karst region, some 50 km southwest of Prague⁷³. On top of the hill there is a small oval plateau enclosed by slightly elevated rock ridges. Fissures within these rock ridges filled in with clay were excavated, and found to contain not only artifacts but also human interments the date of which reaches from the Neolithic to the Iron (Hallstatt) Age. The last time period documented on the Bacín hill is early medieval (roughly the eighth and ninth centuries). Dating from that time, we have a cluster of broken pottery deposited close to a hearth in the central part of the plateau. The edges of this pottery cluster are blurred, presumably because the shards were dragged along circulation paths, and the directions indicated by these protrusions from the center of the cluster show that the paths led towards the fissured rock ridges. We cannot understand exactly what happened here, but again, we have a feature involving fire, and possibly sacrifices, on a hill-top.

In the above mentioned cases, the central cult objects yielded traces of fire. The Libušinka spring at Stará-Kouřim seems to present an interesting variant where the cult object is represented by another element, that of water. First and foremost, let us notice that though written sources refer to it much later, in the 16th-century, they record its name in the form 'Lubuše'. This means that the name survived in a form preceding

⁷² See Šolle 1984, Profantová 2001, as well as Charvát 1995.

⁷³ Matoušek 2005.

the vowel shift from 'u' to 'i' which took place in the first half of the fourteenth-century. The obvious spatial link between the Stará-Kouřim elite cemetery and the sacred spring calls to mind the numerous cases documented by ethnology where the nether world is dominated by female deities, whose presence could have been embodied by the water of the spring. Also, we would do well to notice the smooth transition between the pre-Christian and Christian phase of this cemetery. The latest ornaments deposited there display Christian emblems (crosses), and two rows of post-holes inserted into a narrow space between the edges of the cemetery and the spring were interpreted as possible traces of a funerary Christian chapel. All of this may be interpreted as a statement to the effect that Christian or not, we all belong to the same elected few.

The Libušinka sacred spring could allude to entities of an even higher order, however. Written sources bear witness to the role ascribed to a sacred lake by one of the Slav tribes north of Bohemia's frontiers along the Elbe river (the present-day southeastern part of Freistaat Sachsen in Germany), the *Glomači*. This lake, and the rise and fall of its water level, served as an oracle. High water foretold a good and fertile year, while if the water was low, famine, hunger and want were to be expected⁷⁴. We have no data to decide whether the Libušinka spring could have functioned in a similar way, but this situation at least indicates that something of the order could have been possible. (Fig. 30)

...and Beyond the Bohemian Frontiers

With respect to cult and ritual activities as a pillar of state-building, one of the most instructive parallels has been supplied by a recent study of the Liutici tribal federation by Christian Lübke⁷⁵. The core of this powerful tribal federation seems to have constituted the smaller *Veleti* confederation, consisting of just four 'tribes' and referred to in the B.G. Foremost among them were obviously the *Rataři* (Redarier) 'tribe', on whose territory the Riedegost or Rethra shrine with the cult of a fire and solar deity named *Zuarasizi* was situated⁷⁶. Thietmar of Merseburg

⁷⁴ Oexle 1994, 37 Fig. 36, presently Lommatzsch by Paltzschen, Lkr. Meissen. The oracle is described by Thietmar of Merseburg.

⁷⁵ Lübke 2008.

⁷⁶ Lübke 2008, 198. *Zuarasizi*, or Svarožic, must have been a descendant of a god *Svarog (with the patronymic suffix -ic); the name is clearly linked to the Sanskrit



Figure 30: An air view of the Kouřim (Stará-Kouřim) hill-fort (Kolínsko 17).

notes that the *Rataři* were once subordinate to the Carolingians but ultimately regained their freedom⁷⁷.

The confederation gradually fell apart and the individual member ‘tribes’ gained more importance, with the *Stodorani/Havolani* playing a prominent role. Elites of this ‘tribe’ began to establish connections both with the Prague Přemyslids, with the marriage of Dragomir, the future mother of Saint Wenceslas, to Duke Vratislav I, and with Margrave Dietrich von Haldersleben of the Northern mark of Saxony. In his youth, the future Emperor Otto I fell in love with a beautiful *Stodorani/Havolani* girl, obviously a hostage at the imperial court, and had a son by her who was named Wilhelm and later became the archbishop of Mainz.

Things changed radically with the formidable uprising of free Slavs against the Saxon empire in 983. This revolt is likely to have been masterminded by the *Rataři*, and here the circumstances demand all our

svarga, referring to denizen(s) of the celestial and heavenly spheres. On Riedegost/Rethra see now Šlupecki 2006.

⁷⁷ Lübke 2008, 197: *quondam servi nostrisque iniquitatibus tunc liberi*.

attention, because what happened provides a close parallel to my idea of the emergence of the Bohemian state. First, a brand new ‘nation’ was proposed to the hitherto disunited ‘tribes’. This found a clear expression in the name that this new political body adopted, namely *Liutici*⁷⁸. Second, they made the Riedegost/Rethra shrine a central cult site of the new ‘nation’, and thus the chief fusion agent of this new political formation. Third, they gave the new ‘nation’ a particular social structure, centered on the Riedegost/Rethra priests, who called all the people together to yearly assemblies at the central shrine where all important matters were discussed and decided⁷⁹. This *Liutici* social body gained much respect from neighboring nations, who were often eager to be its ally in matters of war. It also managed to successfully defend its ‘old-time religion’, contributing not only to the maintenance of non-Christian creeds along the empire’s eastern border, but possibly even to their development into more articulated cult and ritual practices⁸⁰.

Here the process described by written sources is almost identical to that which I presume in the case of Prague Castle. A cult and ritual institution acts as a fuse, setting off the process of state-building. Moreover, the newly formed ‘nation’ adopts a new name – which was not necessary in the case of the BOHEMI – and a new social order. The question is, how far this might be presumed in the case of Prague Castle, and whether one of the causes behind the total transformation of the Bohemian power base in the late ninth-century (reflected by the desertion of old castles and building of new ones,) could conceivably have been a new social order reflecting the new suzerainty masterminded by the BOHEMI, possibly turned into Bohemians-Czechs.

A close enough parallel may be outlined in the case of the Carantanian Slavs. It has been proposed that they adopted their identity in consequence of ‘community worship’ at a shrine situated most probably upon a rocky ridge called Ulrichsberg, or Šenturška gora, where the present-day Krnski grad or Carnburg is to be found. The central cult feature of this shrine seems to have been a rocky outcrop of a peculiar form – split by a fissure – whose original significance eludes modern research but

⁷⁸ Lübke 2008, 197. The name seems to derive from Slavic *lutí* = wild, ferocious, untamed (Lübke 2008, 199), cf. the proposed derivation of the name of the Franks from **frekk* = wild, ferocious.

⁷⁹ Lübke 2008, 197. Thietmar of Merseburg expressly says that *Hiis autem omnibus.../ dominus specialiter non presidet ullus*, and that they live according to their own liberty, *libertas more Liuticio*.

⁸⁰ Lübke 2008, 199.

from which the ethnonym of early medieval Carantanians is likely to have derived⁸¹.

Poland is the next case to which I wish to refer here. According to my Polish colleagues, the process of state-building that characterizes the first half of the tenth-century features the erection of new forts close to the old and disused ones. These new power centers show efforts to gather such economic power as there was within their ramparts, as is illustrated by the concentrations of Arabic *dirhams* found at their sites. The new sites were also presumably the foci of political and also spiritual power, as is indicated by the presence of shrines of pre-Christian worship⁸².

Surprising discoveries are made when we consider eighth to ninth-century developments in a country rather far away from the Slav world but linked to it by structural analogies of social development – Scotland⁸³. Much like Bohemia, Scotland did not constitute a part of the Roman empire, but was close enough to it to profit from its cultural and spiritual influences. Regarding the situation of such a land, my British colleagues refer to: the evacuation of walled sites; the use of public spaces for non-Christian rituals; and finally, ostentatious sponsorship of Christianity and the sites of its suzerain cults. In Bohemia, the evacuation of walled sites took the specific form of the desertion of old strongholds and the erection of new ones. Use of public spaces for non-Christian rituals does, however, constitute a parallel phenomenon, linking coeval Scotland with Bohemia. Finally, the sponsorship of Christian institutions – which, markedly, does not exclude non-Christian rituals in public places in Scotland – materialized at the very end of the ninth-century when the first, rather modest places of Christian worship make their appearance within the ramparts of Bohemian hill-forts.

A most interesting case, albeit a distant one, concerns the Armenian medieval epics of Mher, in which students see an incarnation of Mithra. In fact, there are two Mhers, Elder and Younger, both riding a fiery steed and wielding Sanasar, the lightning sword. After a life of tribulation, misfortune and suffering the horseman Younger Mher, led by a raven which he wounded with his arrow but which managed to fly away, rode into a large rock cave on the top of the Van lake, where his horse's hooves

⁸¹ Kahl 2005.

⁸² An entire number (No. 5) of the periodical 'Questiones Medii Aevi Novae' (Warsaw 2000) is dedicated to these questions.

⁸³ Driscoll 1998.

sank into the mud and got stuck. Mher thus became trapped in a 'capsule of timelessness'. When it opens, just once or twice a year, he can be seen astride his horse, frozen into immobility, with torches or candles illuminating his solitude and with the Wheel of Fate slowly revolving around him⁸⁴. Sometimes he will try out the earth to see if it will carry his horse's hooves. The conclusion of the epic is that at the end of time, when truth, justice, humanity and fertility will prevail in the world, Mher will ride out of his rock shelter to proclaim a new age, when, after the destruction of the present world, righteousness will triumph and the world will return to its original blessed state.

The Mher epic displays so many parallels with a host of European tales⁸⁵ that it must constitute a link between the cultures of the ancient Orient and medieval Europe. However, much more research is needed to elucidate all the relevant questions here.

The question as to whether Mithra's cult was alive in eighth-century Iran is illuminated by the observation that most Iranians converted to Islam in the ninth-century⁸⁶. In northern Anatolia, we know of an ancient cult site of Mithra on the Boztepe hill by Trapezos (Trapezunt, Trabzon), where the church of St. John the Baptist was later built, but which bore the name *Mithrios bunos* until as late as the 14th-century⁸⁷. The religious practice of the sect of the Paulicians, attested to from the eighth-century, and alive in the fourteenth-century, displays Mithraic traits⁸⁸.

As for the possible route of such influences, the Caucasus range presents itself as a natural gateway by which elements of Iranian-inspired culture, and even influences from more distant regions, might have traveled. Let us be reminded of the famous eighth-century cemetery of Moshchevaya Balka on the Great Laba river, a left-hand tributary of the

⁸⁴ All of these paraphernalia correspond with (at least) the Graeco-Roman tradition: Merkelbach 1984, 44 on Mithra's attributes on the Roman coins from Trapezunt (Trebizond).

⁸⁵ Primarily with the Arthurian legends, but also with legends of rulers who did not die but went to timeless hideouts under mountains, to emerge as saviours of their own nations; including Saint Wenceslas of Bohemia, who hibernated below the mountain of Blaník in central Bohemia (on which see Hertl 1964 and Hledíková 1979). On Mher see, i.a., Merkelbach 1984, 258–259; Russell 1987, 272–273, and *passim*; Petrosyan 2006. The epic is chronologically linked to an Armenian uprising against the caliphate in 850: Russell 1987, 272.

⁸⁶ Chabbi 1994, 41.

⁸⁷ Vermasseren 1960, No. 14 on p. 48.

⁸⁸ Russell 1987, 515–533, on Paulicians and the Arewordik'.

Kuban, which yielded a shred of an account document written in Chinese and a tiny Buddhist icon⁸⁹.

The hypothesis of communication between Armenia and central Europe in the early Middle Ages finds confirmation in the existence of a tenth-century Armenian-Latin glossary⁹⁰.

Let me cite one final parallel, albeit perhaps a too distant one. The legitimacy of power of the suzerain of the Second Turkish kaganate (683–744) depended on whether he was able to render himself master of the sacred center of his realms, the Forests of Ötükän⁹¹. Coeval Chinese documents refer to that region directly as El-Ötükän, ‘national’ or ‘state’ Ötükän. This toponym even conferred a name on the old Mongolian earth goddess, *äkä-ätügän* (Mother earth)⁹².

So, In Fact...

Let us conclude: Slav inhabitants of Bohemia managed to adopt a new identity, or rather to infuse the old BOHEMI ethnonym with a new meaning, by means of integration with the new incoming groups, one-time foreigners who were now fully ‘Slavinized’. The expression of this new identity, and of the will to unite and direct a common course of action, rested in the ritual that their highest representatives performed sometime in the first half of the ninth-century on the site of the future Prague Castle, claiming suzerainty over their land. This ceremony took place in the name of the traditional Indo-European gods, especially Mithra, or, in the Slavic = Middle Persian Pronunciation, *mir*.

This ceremony almost fell into oblivion during the long and bitter civil war between the defenders of the old order and the partisans of social and political innovations that lasted for most of the late ninth-century. The roots of the crisis are not sufficiently known, but one of the causes may have been the break-down of the now practically defunct ‘old tribes’ (*Doudlebi*, Croats, *Lemuzi*), eroding the coherence of their lower-grade constituent units (clans? clan segments? lineages?), whose representatives then threw themselves into an endemic war for hegemony over the new social groupings.

⁸⁹ de la Vaissière 2002, 233–235.

⁹⁰ Bischoff 1984a.

⁹¹ Jisl 1997, 4–6, 8–10.

⁹² Jisl 1997, 4–6, 8–10. On Ötükän see now Bosworth 1995.

Amid this fighting, it wasn't until the 880s that power in central Bohemia was seized by one of the younger branches of the BOHEMI grouping, who appropriated the traditional pedigree of the BOHEMI rulers beginning with the mythical Přemysl. This lineage, beginning with Duke Bořivoj (? – ante 890), returned to the old suzerain-making ceremony, but in a new version. The western sacrificial site now became a cemetery where at least one prominent member of this group was laid to rest among his followers⁹³. In its turn, the eastern *columna mundi*, home of Mihr (Mithra), became the stone throne upon which members of the lineage were enthroned as rulers of Bohemia. By being seated on the stone throne, the duke received a 'divinity charge' and took over the *pax*, mir (= Mithra). This ritual embodied the core of the state doctrine of early medieval Bohemia to such an extent that it became indissolubly linked with the essence of early Bohemian statehood. For this reason, Duke Wenceslas, a true Christian, was unable to dispose of it, but instead had it re-cast in a Christian mold. Having built a Christian church – the earliest version of St. Guy's cathedral – directly between the old sacrificial site and the stone *columna mundi* turned throne, he subjugated ancient Mithra and imposed the Christian doctrine upon him. From the time of Duke Wenceslas, all his Přemysl dynasty descendants, enthroned upon the old stone, were infused not only with the old *pax*, but with its modernized, Christian version, the *pax ducis / regis in manu sancti Wencezlai*.

The Society of Ninth-Century Bohemia – a Few Notes

What was the nature of Bohemian ninth-century society? Much has been written about the 'tribes' of pre-Christian and early Christian Bohemia, and most of these accounts do seem to hold up. The expression 'tribe' was applied indiscriminately to the pre-state history of Bohemia simply because earlier scholars, led by the neo-evolutionist idea of the band-tribe-chiefdom-state chain of development, were convinced that without the state, nothing else but 'tribes' was conceivable. As we know today, this is not universally true. Most recent developments in the study of the emergence of the state simply point to the

⁹³ But Mithra is also a deity of the deceased, and an underworld judge: Russell 1987, 262, 304.

universal and, in its simplicity, nearly magical, formula that ‘complexity grows’. But social complexity can grow in very different ways. Either the more firmly structured social bodies can adopt kinship lines as their organizing principles, and in this manner, ‘tribes’ or classificatory ‘tribes’ emerge. Or professional vocation is chosen as a criterion of social structure, in which case a caste community appears, as is embodied in the well-known *ensemble* of the three estates of medieval society (*oratores, bellatores, laboratores*). Or, finally, the ‘citizenship’, or appreciation of the individual as a member of society, becomes the chief agent of composition, and states can arise from very simple circumstances.

My own conviction is that a state represents a correlate of a certain state of the human mind. From the very moment that a human community starts to consider the other two-legged creatures living around it, and recognizes them as beings like themselves, the basic condition for building a state is fulfilled. ‘Citizens’ of these earliest social bodies can then establish a state as a body serving the common benefit (*bonum commune*). The elites to whom they entrust the administration of public affairs will then direct its course in a manner most eloquently described by the quotation that opens this chapter of my book.

Let me say quite frankly that we know virtually nothing about the nature and structuring of the earliest social bodies of the inhabitants of Bohemia. Whether they operated on the kinship (or classificatory-kinship) principle, or on some other basic organizational principle, remains hidden from us⁹⁴.

There is possibly some indication of fairly advanced stratification in ninth-century Bohemian society. Insofar as we have evidence from funerary contexts⁹⁵ at our disposal, the grouping together of men, women and children in the same cemetery does, as argued by Lewis Binford⁹⁶, indicate the existence of coherent social bodies in which the principle of adherence (‘membership’) supersedes that of distinction by sex and age that operates in egalitarian societies. In some cemetery cases we observe clusters of interments grouped together but fail to understand the nature of such groupings. A certain clue is offered by the existence of regional groupings bearing names with the *-ané* suffix (BG). This implies that in the process of adopting a collective name, the

⁹⁴ For the informed judgment of an ethnology specialist, see Kandert 1990.

⁹⁵ For a review of the situation, the summary of the evidence by Barbara Sasse (1982) has retained its value.

⁹⁶ Binford 1971.

fact of common residence was a key factor. More than that, however, we cannot say.

Dědici, Clans, Clan segments, Lineages?

Even the nature of social bodies visible in later eleventh and twelfth-century sources, especially those denoted by names ending with the *ici* suffix, remains hidden from us. Much as in one of my earlier works,⁹⁷ I still assume that these consisted of free 'citizens' referred to in the sources as *dědici*. Let me present my argument. In pre-industrial societies, a 'citizen' is endowed with the right to hold means of subsistence by the very fact that he or she has been born into a certain social grouping. On his or her birth, the new 'citizen' is automatically included in a group that derives its origin from an ancestor (Slavic *děd*). The infant is a *dědic* = descendant of *děd*, and thus inevitably *dědic* = the inheritor of the estate bequeathed to its descendants by the respective *děd*. In most cases, this will pertain to arable soil, but it may include a trade, profession, business, or even a certain social status held by the community of *dědici* (plural form of *dědic*). The fact that the *dědic* may inherit indicates that he or she is personally free, the main difference between free and unfree Bohemians of the early Middle Ages lying in the fact that the free inherit while the unfree do not. The *dědici* thus constituted self-supporting and self-governing social bodies, sometimes playing the role of partners of the elites, or even of the dukes themselves.

Unfortunately, without the testimony of written sources, which do not exist for the period before 1000, we cannot say how far these organizational principles, which seem to have applied in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, date back in antiquity.

The Noble and the Powerful

Above the ranked or even stratified society of ninth-century Bohemia, their elites are at least faintly visible. In the preceding chapter I cited Nad'a Profantová's conclusions to the effect that eighth-century elites boasted showy waist-belts and horse-harness ornaments as the chief

⁹⁷ Charvát 1992.

symbols of their status. This situation was to change in the ninth-century⁹⁸. The waist-belts and horse-harness items were superseded by a different form of ostentatious equipment featuring, as the chief badge of social standing, showy types of swords. Rather than being mere weapons, swords figure here as a status symbol, paralleled by scenes from illuminated manuscripts in which office holders often display swords as emblems of their superior social positions, and of the *potestas imperii* power (the right to command) entrusted to them by common consent. Eighth-century elites were mounted warriors, taking pride in the number of battles they fought and the number of adversaries they killed. ‘Those who lived by the sword perished by the sword’, however. Ninth-century grandes did not (only) command their troops going into battle. Sitting in the chief halls of their residences, they held sumptuous banquets (let us be reminded of the imports of Rhenish wines), they issued orders, pronounced judgments, took decisions, instructed and directed their followers.

Princesses of Bohemia and Moravia

One perceptible ninth-century social development concerns the situation of aristocratic women⁹⁹. For the first time in the Middle Ages, high-status women do not fall behind men with regard to the splendor of their funerary dress. Though we do know of double burials of noble ladies and gentlemen, no indications exist to my knowledge that the death of either partner need not have occurred from natural causes. It seems that the most important roles that ninth-century women played were not only the continuation of the blood-kinship lines, but also probably the transmission of noble status by marriage. Regrettably, the matrimonial strategies of ninth-century Bohemian nobility remain completely unknown to us.

Ladies of rank appeared on the archeological horizon particularly at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth-century, when cemeteries not only in Prague itself, but also in its vicinity (Klecany¹⁰⁰) entombed their remains. The most notable of these burial sites was discovered in the seventies of the last century in the Lumbe gardens of

⁹⁸ Profantová 1997, 107–110.

⁹⁹ Profantová 1997, 112–113.

¹⁰⁰ Profantová 2007, see http://www.arup.cas.cz/cz/aktivity/klecany_brandys.html.



Figure 32: Main types of female jewelry of ninth to tenth-century Bohemia (Šolle 1984, 180 Fig. 85).

Prague Castle. I will now present the arguments which led me to an opinion that I published some time ago that the Lumbe-garden cemetery might represent the burial place of aristocratic Moravian women who had married Bohemian nobles, or lived at the ducal court of Prague and died there, and were laid to rest in Bohemian soil. (Fig. 32)

Moravian Consorts of Bohemian Nobles and Courtiers?

The hitherto available publications of the earliest phase of the Lumbe-garden cemetery¹⁰¹ all agree that the influence of traditional Moravian jewelry left a clear and unequivocal impression on local personal ornaments and dress items. It has also been observed that the Moravian parallels can be seen in a whole series of Moravian sites, and that this conclusion does not support the theory of itinerant craftsmen supplying the Prague court with fashionable jewelry. Over time, the Moravian style faded out, to be replaced by articles made in the Bohemian fashion.

¹⁰¹ Most recently see the relevant chapter in Smetánka 2003.

Here the findings of social anthropology may help our progress. George Dalton, the successor of Karl Polanyi whose studies focused on socially engineered exchange practices, outlined four general modes of such practices¹⁰². He observed that by and large, the major types of exchange fall into four categories:

- a) those made in connection with the material perquisites of settling a marriage,
- b) those made as a consequence of armed conflict, such as booty, tribute and the like,
- c) those made to gain or further social prestige by means of so-called honorary gifts, or *keimelia*, and
- d) those carried out in the form of true trade.

Which is the category most likely to apply in the Lumbe-garden case? The jewels could represent war booty, but such a conflict would have had to be a mass assault affecting all the most important sites of Moravia. Moreover, true booty collections tend to be much more varied in their contents, and most of them appeared in the graves of women and young people. We would thus have to imagine a universal process of 'sorting-out' the booty and bestowing only some of it on the deceased.

Gifts of honor, known, for example, from the Homeric epics, could represent an interesting alternative interpretation. Here, however, the gifts tend to address male members of the elite. In fact, we could imagine rather the bearers of such splendid ornaments themselves as representing gifts of honor. That, however, is utterly beside the point, as such precious items must have been reserved exclusively for the highest echelons of contemporary society. This also excludes the true-trade category, as such showy items would hardly have circulated as commercially marketed goods.

Now we see quite clearly that the marriage connection represents the only interpretation which is at least viable. We may envisage the court ladies of the Moravian rulers taking refuge in Bohemia after the last turbulent years of the Moravian kingdom in the first decade of the tenth-century. We can be sure that both Bohemian dukes and their entourages made them most welcome, as they brought not only their rich *trousseaux* and valuable experience of statehood, but also conferred high status on their possible marriage partners.

¹⁰² See his comprehensive studies: Dalton 1971a; Dalton 1971b.

Elite Religion

I have already presented my conclusions concerning the emergence of the Bohemian state as a manifestation of traditional, Indo-European practices of claiming suzerainty over a given territory. Now it remains for me to prove that post-Sasanian influences could actually have reached Bohemia at this distant time. (Fig. 33) (Fig. 34)

Definite eastern influences may be seen in the prestigious items of material culture. From the eighth-century, post-Sasanian inspiration shaped the patterns of Bohemian and Moravian ornaments. Some Moravian and also Bohemian spherical buttons, *gombíky*, display the image of a bird with a drop-shaped configuration by its beak. This is likely to reflect one of the post-Sasanian regalia items as a suzerainty

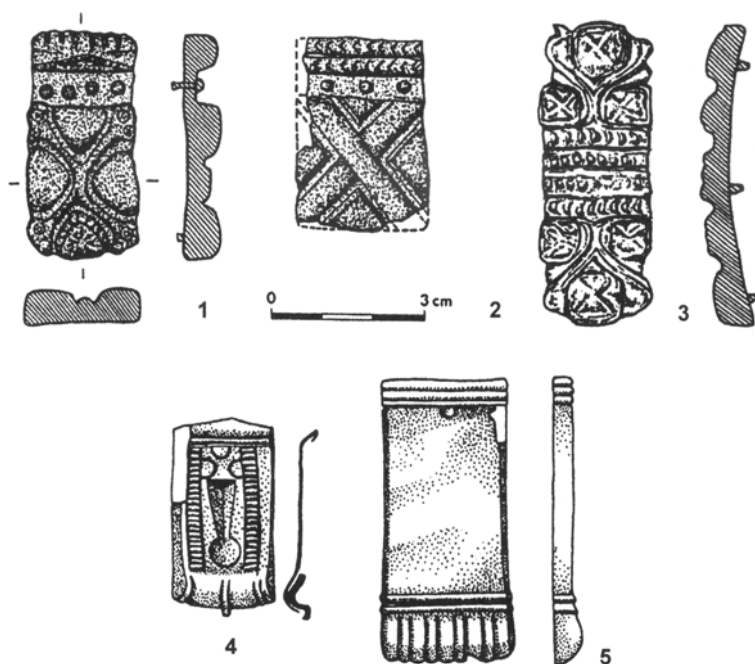


Figure 33: A number of early ninth-century belt mounts bear the motif of a ridge with dense parallel incisions, perpendicular to the longer axis of the mount. The examples shown here were found at Žinkovy, Bohemia, Pohansko by Břeclav, Moravia, and Libice-nad-Cidlinou, Bohemia (upper row, from left to right). Related examples have turned up at the Hungarian sites of Szegvar and Hajdudorog (lower row, also from left to right) (Charvát 2000, 136 Fig. 8 a 9).



Figure 34: The motif of ridges with dense parallel incisions, perpendicular to the longer axis of the mount, have turned up among northern Iranian finds from sites referred to as ‘Amlash’ (Charvát 2000, 137 Fig. 10).

symbol¹⁰³, as original icons show that the object carried by the bird is a necklace, one of the Sasanian royal badges of office. Another of these manifestations of ‘suzerainty before statehood’ shows the image of a bird with a streamer tied around its neck, a Sasanian royal prerogative called *pativa*¹⁰⁴. A ninth-century bronze sword mount from Čáslav-Hrádek displays the icon of the dragon-snake conflict, known to us from earlier examples from Moravian Mikulčice. (Fig. 31) The influx of eastern elements is confirmed by the occurrence of rare pottery made from fine, levigated clay of buff or yellowish color and of classic shapes, which has turned up in ninth-century Moravian sites. This ware points us due east, into the Pontic and Volga-river regions, where the Khazarian kaganate reigned supreme in the ninth-century.

All this evidence might nonetheless be refuted in respect of the fact that such artifacts might have been brought into the country by trade and passed through the hands of numerous middlemen, while the

¹⁰³ Numerous examples may be seen in Frye 1973, and Otavsky 1998. See also Gyselen 1990, Charvát 2007b, and now Verbecken-Lammens et al. 2006, 251–255, esp. p. 252. The image of a duck wearing a necklace with three pendants, depicted in the Gellona Sacramentary of the end of the eighth-century, might have been copied from an Oriental textile: Verbecken-Lammens et al. 2006, 254 Fig. 6.

¹⁰⁴ On the *pativa* symbolism see now Verbecken-Lammens et al. 2006, 251–255. The relevant textiles fall into the period 600–807 A.D. (*ibid.*, 274).

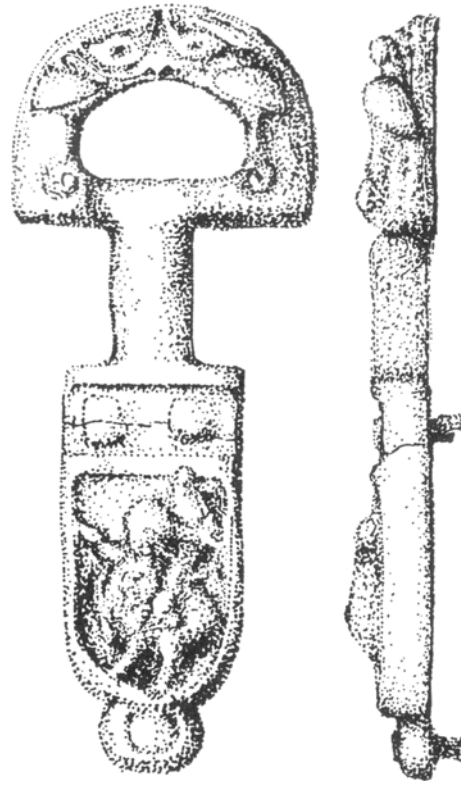


Figure 31: This is an early ninth-century loop-shaped sword-belt accessory from Čáslav, which also depicts a fight between a dragon and a reptile as a symbol of the conflict between good and evil (Profantová 1991, 37 Fig. 1: 1).

original meaning of their decorative icons and patterns remained unknown to their new users. Do we have any evidence of the presence of Sasanian spiritual constructs in ninth-century Bohemia?

Some time ago, my learned friend and colleague Michal Lutovský brought our attention to a speech addressed to the Duke and first King of Bohemia, Vratislav II (1061–1092) by his ally, Count Wiprecht of Groitzsch¹⁰⁵. Wiprecht alluded to the noble descent of the Bohemian suzerain, whose remote ancestor Bougo had once exercised suzerainty ‘as far as the land of the Seringi’ (the borderland of China)¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁵ Lutovský 1998, 153–154.

¹⁰⁶ Wiprecht’s address is contained in the *Annales Pegavenses*, p. 236, ll. 37–47: *Memini quendam antecessorum tuorum Bougonem dici, cuius principatui non dicam comites aliosve nobilitate opibusque pollentes, immo duces et marchiones militabant.*

Surprising as it may seem, this information contains a kernel of truth. The rulers of the Second Turkish kaganate (ca. 680–744), who really held power over central and western Asia as far as the Chinese frontiers, boasted, in fact, the title *baga*. This can be explained neither by reference to any of the Turkic languages nor to Chinese¹⁰⁷. It might, however, derive from the Iranian word *baga*, meaning, in general, ‘a deity’, but referring in particular to Mithra¹⁰⁸, or, alternatively, denoting godhead and/or material affluence¹⁰⁹. Any paramount of east-central Europe would have been honored and flattered to appropriate such a prestigious title. Its presence among the peoples of this part of Europe is borne out by the *origo gentis* saga of the Croats, as recorded in the *De administrando imperio* treatise by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Porphyrogenetus (913–952). The seven leaders of the ‘tribe’ taking their people to Dalmatia included one named *Buga*. Though Porphyrogenitus ascribed this name to a woman of high-status, it was originally a male name, possibly of Turkic origin¹¹⁰.

Let us, however, pursue the rather curious idea that the ancestors of Duke and King Vratislav of the Přemysl dynasty had once ruled vast territories in the east of Europe as far as the eastern borders of Iran, or even as far as the Chinese frontier. Here, Sasanian royal ideology is of relevance. The most ancient ruler of the world – of Iranian stock and origin, of course – is reported to have divided his immense realms between his three sons. One received rule over the West, and became the Roman emperor. The other was given an empire in the East, and assumed the dignity of the suzerain of China. The third son inherited the father’s lordship over Iran, and it is evidently this mythical personage that the tradition of the Prague court, cited by Wiprecht of Groitzsch, refers to¹¹¹.

Of course, a crucial problem to be tackled by this hypothesis is how this proposed tradition, which is likely to have arrived in Bohemia

Is adeptus dominium nomenque regium, in provinciam Seringorum suum dilataverat imperium, aliisque principibus acque potentibus famosior et eminentior claruit. Wiprecht collected the relevant information at Vratislav II’s court: *Post aliquod tempus, sicut ipse (Wiprecht) cunctis, quis aut quantus esset, innotuerat...*

¹⁰⁷ Jisl 1997, 78–79.

¹⁰⁸ Sims-Williams 1991, and Woodard 2006, 4, 59.

¹⁰⁹ Standing very close to Mithra, the Indian Bhaga of the Vedic age is a deity dispensing justice in the division of property among the members of the community of its followers, see Woodard 2006, 3–4, 59 a 65.

¹¹⁰ Třeštík 2003, 80, 89.

¹¹¹ On this see now Daryae 2007.

(and/or Moravia) sometime in the eighth or ninth-century, would have survived until the reign of Vratislav II (1061–1092).

The Advent of Ecumenical Christianity

Obviously, ninth-century Bohemia did not exist as an island 'all by itself'. However the hypotheses of the Indo-European influences on Bohemian suzerain ideology may stand up in the future, Bohemians of this period must inevitably have come into contact with the dominant religion of the Latin West, ecumenical Christianity. A number of Czech scholars advance the argument that the transition can be seen in the move from cremation to inhumation burial rites, which must have occurred some time in the ninth-century. The cause of this may well have been the Christianization of Bohemian society, but this is by no means certain. Let us refer here to a proposition by an eminent Russian specialist in Slav and Indo-European studies, Vyacheslav Ivanov. For him, the cremation-inhumation transition represented a phenomenon conceivable in terms of the old Indo-European frame of reference, the only difference being the change of element to which the dead body was entrusted (earth instead of fire).

As we have already heard, the earliest trace of the Christian creed in medieval Bohemia is represented by the form in which the name of St. Emmeram of Regensburg was taken over into Czech sometime around 800.

The advent of Christianity into Bohemia is next recorded in the occasion of the baptism of fourteen Bohemian chieftains and their retinues at the Bavarian Regensburg (*XIII ex ducibus bohemannorum cum hominibus suis*), referred to in the *Annales Fuldenses*, on January 13th, 845¹¹². This event possibly finds illumination in a set of belt mounts, deposited with the body of a gentleman buried in the grave at Kolín-nad-Labem in central Bohemia (cf. *supra*). These mounts display stylistic connections with works of art commissioned by Drogo, natural son of Charlemagne and archbishop of Metz in Lotharingia (801–855)¹¹³. The overall composition of the Kolín grave finds shows a similarity to at least one list of baptismal gifts conferred on a Christian convert during a christening at

¹¹² The text is now re-published in MMFH 2008, p. 90. On the event see most recently Goldberg 2006, 139 fn. 88.

¹¹³ See above. On Drogo see Pfister 1972, and most recently Crowder 2007.

the court of Emperor Louis the Pious (814–840)¹¹⁴. This may lead to the assumption that Drogo himself came to Regensburg, took part in the baptism, and conferred baptismal gifts on the powerful Bohemians. Drogo could well have done this, as Pope Sergius II had previously appointed him *vicarius Galliarum Germaniarumque partibus*, that is, the papal representative in Europe north of the Alps, in 844.

Up until now, the Regensburg baptism has been interpreted as a political expedient. Having presumably heard rumors of the military campaign being prepared against them by Louis the German (843–876), the Bohemian chieftains are thought to have wished to forestall the conflict by becoming Christians, thereby depriving Louis of (one of) the reason (s) for going to war. Yet if we assume that the second most important dignitary of the Latin church after the Roman pope was indeed present at Regensburg, then the event appears in a somewhat different light. In fact, this could have been the first attempt at the integration of (a segment of) western Slavdom into Christianity and the Carolingian empire, a distant precursor of what became known as *renovatio imperii Romanurum* in the time of Emperor Otto III (996–1002), at the end of the tenth-century.

Unfortunately, the entire project came to nothing. Drogo's new dignity as papal representative was not universally accepted throughout Europe, and he subsequently retired to his own bishopric and dedicated his efforts to pastoral and maecene activities. Louis the German launched a series of long, and presumably bitter and bloody campaigns, first against the Bohemians, and then, from the 860s, against the duchy and then kingdom of Moravia. He never again showed an interest in the Christianization of the Bohemians¹¹⁵. Things being as they were, the Bohemians and Moravians were left to find their own way out of this situation; we have heard about the solution they might have adopted.

Here, the Kolín-nad-Labem burial does supply a valuable historical testimony. How was it that objects of such crucial importance to the Christian religion as a liturgical chalice, securing access to Holy Communion, and thus to the salvation of the soul, were buried with the person who had presumably used them? Was the deceased's community no longer interested in the message of the Christian faith? Did they consider the good tidings of Jesus Christ to be of so personal a

¹¹⁴ Charvát 2005.

¹¹⁵ See Koller 1992.

nature that they deemed it expedient to send one of their number, who had adopted Christianity, to heaven with all the appurtenances of his new creed? Did the community of the Kolín lord and lady turn away from a *deus teutonicus*, much as another Slav gentleman would do some one hundred and fifty years later¹¹⁶?

Nevertheless, the Christian message did continue to gradually gain ground in ninth-century Bohemia. We cannot fail to observe the testimony of cross symbols on some of the spherical buttons, *gombíky*, constituting a component of solemn, and also funerary, dress of those laid to rest in ninth-century Bohemian burial sites¹¹⁷. To some extent, the adoption of Christianity may be perceived as one of the solutions to the crisis that befell Bohemian society in the second half of the ninth-century¹¹⁸. Here, the fact that the family and friends of a lady of rank, buried in the second half of the century under the funerary barrow at Želénky by Duchcov in northwestern Bohemia, denoted her as Christian by laying a veil with a cross over her face does provide a valuable testimony (cf. supra). At around the same time, or slightly later, Christian emblems featured on the jewelery of noble ladies buried at the Stará-Kouřim cemetery. Prior to 890, the Prague court of Duke Bořivoj was already Christian. In 895, the most prominent among the BOHEMI swore an oath of loyalty to King Arnulf of Bavaria in Regensburg¹¹⁹, and presumably accepted the subordination of Christian institutions in Bohemia to the bishopric of Regensburg.

To all of this it is necessary to add the proviso that the traditional Přemyslid enthronement ceremony in which the duke ‘embodied Mithra’ (*pax ducis*) lost none of its validity, and still constituted the key moment when he was conferred with the legitimacy to rule over the realms of the descendants of the Přemysl lineage.

¹¹⁶ Lübke 2008, 194: in Bamberg, a Slav who lost his eyesight was invited to ask Emperor Henry II, venerated as a saint there, for intercession, but he answered: ‘How can a *deus teutonicus* help me, a Slav?’

¹¹⁷ See, for instance, Frolík et al. 2009, 32, lower paragraph.

¹¹⁸ In general see again Charvát 1999a.

¹¹⁹ MMFH 2008, p. 124, ad 895.

CHAPTER 4

THE 'LONG TENTH-CENTURY': THE POINT OF NO RETURN

'Over the mountains of the moon,
Down the valley of the shadow,
Ride, boldly ride,' the shade replied,
'If you seek for Eldorado!'

*Spytihněv I (approximately 895–905)*¹

From the end of the ninth-century, Bohemian suzerains devoted all their energy, skill and diplomacy to the establishment of their new state². The very first known duke of Bohemia, Bořivoj (? – before 890) adopted ecumenical Christianity, but we do not know if his baptism by St. Methodius (+ 885) in Moravia had any real consequences. Modern research has largely focused on Bořivoj's first son, Spytihněv³.

At the start of his reign, we see Spytihněv in a most important role: in 895, he was one of the two leaders of an embassy that went to Bavarian Regensburg to swear an oath of loyalty to King Arnulph of Carinthia. This was an arrangement that suited bothsides: Arnulph pacified his northern frontier, and gained support for his future bid to become emperor; Spytihněv and the Bohemian representatives had pacified an important power in their vicinity. This also seems to have been the moment when Bohemia acknowledged ecclesiastical subordination to the Regensburg bishopric, which is clearly visible in later sources preceding the establishment of an episcopal see at Prague (969–976). The changing of alliance from east to west seems strange, but perhaps Bohemia's experience of direct rule by Svatopluk of Moravia was such

¹ A brief summary of the available evidence may be found in Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 548–549.

² The review of the available evidence, and the source base for what follows, may be found in Bláhová-Frolík-Profantová 1999, as well as in Wieczorek-Hinz 2000, most recently in Matla-Kozłowska 2008 and Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009. I have dwelt on some questions myself: Charvát 2004.

³ The names may tell a tale. While Bořivoj, (= 'destroyer of armies'), strikes a resolutely warrior note, Spytihněv (= 'examine your anger!') indicates a rather more conciliatory attitude.

that they preferred a distant, foreign ally to a fellow countryman who might have been a little too close to their borders⁴. Another question that warrants attention here concerns the undisputed Christianity of the foremost Bohemians. We may see in it the outcome of a long process that started around the year 800 and first came to a climax in 845 with the baptism of fourteen Bohemian chieftains in Regensburg. The scarcity of historical sources means that events of the second half of the ninth-century, which might have been far from harmonious, remain a mystery. Did the inheritors of the gentleman known from Kolín-nad-Labem bury him to repeal a religion that was not theirs? Did the mourning family of the lady buried *more paganorum* under a funerary barrow at Želénky by Duchcov wish to preserve the memory of their Christian consort, mother and bread-giver by laying her to rest in the country that had become hers? Or was it simply a desperate longing for peace and order that brought Bohemian elites to the recognition that the path of salvation offered by the Christian faith was the only way forward for them? We will never know, but at the end of the ninth-century, not a single member of the Bohemian elites seriously disputed the dominance of Christianity in the land.

Written sources offer little information about Spytihněv I. We do not even know who he took for a wife, though we have the mortal remains of both Spytihněv and the lady in question. Both were buried in the church of the Virgin Mary at Prague Castle, where their bodies came to light during an archeological excavation at the beginning of the 1950s. Though we know that the gentleman's facial features were regular and handsome, the lady wore just a single unpretentious earring of the 'cluster' type, in marked contrast to the burial customs of the day⁵.

Yet the land of Bohemia owes a great debt to Duke Spytihněv, his managers, advisers and executive officers. First and foremost, they organized the siphoning-off of his surplus subjects towards the ducal center. I base this argument on the fact that it is to Spytihněv's reign that the first base marks on pottery vessels, which I believe to have been redistribution addresses, belong⁶.

⁴ See the 'Sigiberti Gemblacensis Chronica', probably written in 1111: King Arnulph gave Svatopluk the Bohemian duchy, and thus alienated the Bohemians (*Arnulfus rex Zuendebaldo duci Marahmesium ducatum Boemanorum addens, et Boemanos per hoc sibi infestos fecit*). In 897, the Bohemians complained to Arnulph of having been *durissime conprimebantur* (Annales Fuldenses, cited by Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 29 fn. 76).

⁵ Frolík 2001.

⁶ On this see Charvát 1994, 136–139. Essentially, my idea is this: base-marked pots served as 'currency units' in which given volumes of food stuffs, supplied by the

Spytihněv's entrepreneurs launched Bohemia into the orbit of international trade which, apparently, started to bring in handsome profits. The latest archeological discoveries in the Malá-Strana quarter of Prague, just below Prague Castle, have yielded surprising evidence of large-scale fortifications enclosing this suburb, which is likely to have played a major role as an entrepot of international trade, as early as the first half of the tenth-century⁷. This may have been the time when slaves and slave-girls, one of the most notorious 'wares' of Slav, and especially Bohemian, trade of the early Middle Ages, were first exported from Bohemia. This is also the period when the first imports of exotic Mediterranean fruit, such as figs, made their appearance in Bohemia⁸. All these data combine to indicate the integration of Spytihněv's Bohemia into the circuits of long-distance trade contacts.

Spytihněv's age witnessed the building of the elite residences and their appurtenances that enclose Prague on the northern and southern side. One of the rather more notable cases constitutes the impressive fortifications on top of the Závist hill overlooking the borough of Zbraslav on the southern border of Prague. Shortly after 900 A. D., the highest part of the site, enclosed by ruins of a cult (?) precinct dating back to the fifth and sixth centuries B. C., saw the establishment of a small elite cemetery. Anthropological examination of the human remains deposited there has shown that these people were exempt from everyday toil and lived their lives without the health risks that the average population were exposed to at this time. In addition, the burial gifts included some highly prized possessions such as amber ornaments, presumably imported from the Baltic area⁹.

The suburbs of the Závist elite residence held two extensive cemeteries for the rural population. One of these is situated directly under the central square of the present-day borough of Zbraslav while the other, that of Lahovice, much more important, numbered more than four hundred graves, some of which contained weapons that presumably belonged to members of land-based military units. It is thus the most extensive

taxpayers, flowed into the collection points of the ducal redistribution system. The ducal administration retained some of them but others went to particular branches of the ducal service by the suzerain's decree. Following such a decree, the ducal tax collectors had particular pots marked by base symbols assigned to the beneficiary in question, and the beneficiary then collected the share due to them, marked out by the respective symbol, at the tax-collection points.

⁷ See for instance, Čiháková 1997 with ref.

⁸ Čulíková 2003, 369, 374–375.

⁹ Krumphanzlová 1985.

open-landscape cemetery of early medieval Bohemia known to date¹⁰. Moreover, early medieval written sources give evidence of armed guards, militia, resident in the valley on the Berounka river just below Závist¹¹.

Another elite residence of the period has recently come to the attention of the Czech archeological community. The hill-fort at Klecany, situated on the right hand side of the Vltava river, due north of Prague, has yielded evidence of an aristocratic cemetery dating to the ninth and tenth centuries. The interments may be divided into an earlier phase, dating roughly between 850 and 930, and a later one, belonging to between around 930 and 1000. Most of the dead, men and women of a young age, were laid to rest with fine burial goods including high-quality jewelry, weapons and other items including what appear to be two surgical knives¹².

At this juncture, it may be interesting to take a short diversion. One of the major sites of early Přemyslid history, the Levý-Hradec hill-fort where Duke Bořivoj is reported to have built the very first Christian church of Bohemia before the year 890, lies just to the right of the river. The fact that 'Levý Hradec' translates as 'small castle on the left' led historians and philologists to look for the *'Pravý Hradec', long suspected to have been situated at Klecany but excluded due to the late date of the remains that were previously known (the twelfth-century and after). Now the new discovery has lent some support to the theory that the site of Klecany may be identical to that of the missing *'Pravý Hradec'.

This leads to a further question, however. Taking into consideration the well-known association of 'right' with such notions as 'true', 'legitimate' and 'righteous', we may ask why the very first Christian site of Bohemia¹³ received the sinister-sounding name of 'Levý Hradec', the left side often being associated with a 'deficit in value', 'deceit', 'fraud' and so on.

¹⁰ Data summaries on these cemeteries may now be found in Lutovský 2005.

¹¹ Meduna 2007.

¹² Information kindly supplied by the director of the Klecany excavations, Ms. Nad'a Profantová. See now most extensively http://www.arup.cas.cz/cz/aktivity/klecany_brandys.html, cited March 12, 2009, and also Hošek-Profantová-Šilhová-Ottenwelter 2007.

¹³ This fact was remembered as late as the twelfth-century, when one of the Přemyslid charters names Levý Hradec as the site *ubi christianitas incepta est* (CDB I: 124, p. 130 line 16, dating between 1125 and 1140).

What we need to ask is whether the site of Levý-Hradec, which apparently bore this name at the time when the (reportedly) first Christian church of Bohemia was founded, was a residence of a younger branch of the Přemyslid family, a branch that might have had good reason to assert its social status when faced with competition from the senior branches of the group by adopting Christianity. This would have greatly enhanced the social prestige of these younger Přemyslids, or should we perhaps say of 'the Bořivoj clan'?

At any rate, the Klecany/Levý-Hradec situation warns us against the semi-automatic assumption that only sites with Christian churches housed the land's most prominent family. It may well be that other early medieval Bohemian sites were home to the senior branch(es) of the Přemysl family. It may be that the original Přemysl dynasty pedigree (Přemysl to Hostivít) of these ancient people was 'adjusted', or simply usurped, by the Bořivoj Lineage. The age-old title of *Bougo*, referred to in the eleventh-century and dating back to antiquity, may also relate to the latter. But where, and how, is the truth to be found?

It is now commonly assumed that Spytihněv's managers transformed both the external aspect and internal structuring of Bohemian ducal realms. Brand-new bases of the ducal administration emerged throughout the key region of central Bohemia, mostly in elevated positions above rivers and usually on banks away from the center of Prague. These new castles represented centers of power from which the ducal officials catered to the needs of their bread-givers. First, they served as collection points for the taxes and tributes due to the Prague suzerains. Second, they probably housed the military detachments that maintained peace in the land, and served as congregation points for the *levée en masse* in times of war. Third, they housed law establishments and the suzerain's judiciary administration. And fourth, they served as management bases for the ducal holdings in the region. This administration and management system proved to be so efficient that it remained in service for almost four centuries.

The pastoral and ecclesiastical function of the regional centers deserves particular attention. In most of these new establishments, the central areas would have housed typical Christian churches, made of stone or wood, with housing for the resident clergy beside them. The land's dukes were responsible for the material welfare of these new institutions and their people, a burden they took up gladly since Christian clergy played an indispensable role in the administration of the land's

spiritual, and also material, needs. With respect to these needs, the earliest legendary Christian texts about the first saints of the land refer particularly to St. Ludmila, consort of Bořivoj, mother of Svytihněv and Vratislav and grandmother of (the future Saint) Wenceslas¹⁴.

These data may not, in fact, be as legendary as it may seem. Tenth-century clergy could be as international as the managers, specialists, advisers and mercenaries who circulated through early medieval suzerain courts in search of employment, and possibly also fame, riches, power and glory. Some data from legends indicates that tenth-century Bohemia had, in fact, material goods in abundance¹⁵. Another aspect to be taken into consideration is the distance of Bohemia from the main foci of Christian culture, and thus also from the principal agencies that guarded the purity of Christian doctrine and the morals of Christian clergy. Some doubts about the orthodoxy of tenth-century Bohemian clergy may indeed be raised on the basis of information supplied by a well-informed tenth-century source, the Arabic treatise *Murudj ad-dhahab*, written before the year 956 by the great Muslim historian and geographer, al-Mas'udi¹⁶.

The morals of pre-Lateran IV clergy are a notoriously delicate subject, but it seems that as well as the existence of married priests, which was not uncommon in early medieval Europe, ancient Bohemia offered the fascinating variant of polygynous clergy¹⁷. This cannot be regarded as a particular sign of moral decay; as in so many cases, money was the underlying factor. Written sources eloquently demonstrate that in early medieval Bohemia, the clergy lived very well materially. If this was the case, they could have been troubled by the need to procure offspring to whom they could bequeath their worldly goods. They thus entered into a sort of 'social contract' with ladies of a certain moral disposition for

¹⁴ The Latin *Christianus* text, now dated to the end of the tenth-century: Králík 1969, 64, on '...tabernacles of Christ to which she {Ludmila, *pch*} freely gave various goods of gold and silver' (also Ludvíkovský 1978, 26–27); a Church Slavonic legend mentions briefly that Bořivoj and Ludmila 'built churches and gathered clergy' (Bláhová-Konzal 1976, 273 and 278).

¹⁵ Militký 2006, esp. pp. 133–134 on the circulation of Byzantine gold coins in tenth-century Bohemia.

¹⁶ Kalus 1996, 131 on Slav Christians of the 'Jacobite', i.e. heterodox, sect. This is likely to pertain to Bohemia as this was one of the most Christianized Slav regions of the first half of the tenth-century. If al-Mas'udi had Bulgarians in mind, he would probably have spoken of the 'Melchite' sect. The newly discovered tenth-century(?) admonition to clergymen, ascribed to St. Adalbert of Prague, also mentions a *confusa religio*.

¹⁷ Zachová-Třeštík 2001.



Figure 35: A bronze likeness of the crucified Christ from the church of the Virgin Mary at Prague Castle. Southern Germany or the Rhineland, late tenth-century (Kubková 1997, 403 Fig. 1a).

the purpose of procreating children. This was profitable for both sides: the fathers could rest assured that their wealth would not be dispersed after their death, while the female partners enjoyed the relatively high standard of living that they provided, and possibly a high measure of prestige if they gave birth to a son. The famous Sbigneus charter for Únětice makes it clear that in early medieval Bohemia, canonical prebends of the Church were disposed of on the basis of primogeniture¹⁸. (Fig. 35)

Bohemian Long-Distance Trade in the Tenth-Century

Let us now turn to commerce and inquire about the overland contacts of tenth-century Bohemia, and the kinds of enterprise that were based upon them¹⁹.

As early as the beginning of the tenth-century, we find that Bohemian traders were surprisingly active along the Danube. The Raffelstetten

¹⁸ CDB I: 124, p. 130, dating between 1125 and 1140.

¹⁹ I dealt with this issue in Charvát 1998.

custom list of 903–906²⁰ refers to ‘Slavs of this homeland’²¹ or ‘Slavs... leaving Bohemia’²² to buy food stuffs and to sell wax, horses, slaves and slave-girls in Bavaria.

In general, long-distance contacts of tenth-century Bohemia may be likened to a compass indicating the four cardinal points but turned by 45°. This position follows natural gateways to the lands enclosed by hills and constituted by river valleys: upper Danube to the southwest, lower Danube to the southeast, Labe/Elbe to the northwest and Odra/Oder to the northeast.

The upper Danubian corridor conducted traders with goods from Bohemia to Bavaria and then into Frankland and the Rhineland, where Mainz was one of the focal points of tenth-century European trade. Ibrahim ibn Ya‘qub, an Andalusian traveler through tenth-century Europe, visited the Mainz market and rejoiced at seeing Muslim *dirhams* struck in the ash-Shash (Samarqand) mint in the years 934 and 935. He also noted the abundance of Oriental spices offered by the Mainz entrepreneurs: pepper, ginger, cloves, nard and others²³. Bohemian-based traders might have made a profit by offering all the goods on the Raffelstetten custom list here. Liutprand, a diplomat and chronicler from Cremona in Italy, who passed through the region during this period, purchased slaves in the city of Verdun on the western Frankish side of the Rhineland²⁴. It is also interesting to note that the dedication of the second church of Prague Castle to St. George may link up with the propagation of this saint by Hatto, archbishop of Mainz and abbot of the Reichenau monastery (891–913). In 896, Hatto deposited the head of St. George at Reichenau, and participated in the founding of at least one monastery in his name²⁵.

We would much appreciate more detailed information about contacts between tenth-century Bohemia and Italy, but unfortunately, this constitutes a very scarce commodity. We know of imports of luxury textiles such as those buried in the grave of St. Ludmila in the Prague Castle church of St. George²⁶, but little else may be added at this time.

²⁰ Published as CDB I: 31, pp. 35–36. See Verlinden 1977, 119–120.

²¹ *Bavari vel Sclavi ipsius patriae*: CDB I: 31, 35 ll. 14–20.

²² *Sclavi qui... de Boemannis mercandi causa exeunt*: CDB I: 31, ll. 25–29.

²³ On Ibrahim ibn Ya‘qub, see below. Most recent treatments of this topic include Mishin 1996, Mishin 1998, Nazmi 1998 and Zaborski 2008.

²⁴ On Verdun see most recently Mourat 2001.

²⁵ Struck 1990, esp. p. 5.

²⁶ Bravermannová 2001.

The southeastern direction led to connections with the lower Danube region, the Balkans, the Pontic and possibly Anatolia. This link also provided a communication with Byzantium, particularly after the expansion of imperial territory following the annexation of Bulgaria during the reign of Basil II (976–1025). Sometime around 1000, Byzantine entrepreneurs established a trade-port called Presthlavitza or Pereyaslavac in the Danubian delta, in order to tap the rich resources of foreign goods, including horses and silver from Bohemia, circulating along the northern and western coasts of the Pontic sea²⁷. This operation proved to be a success, as is shown by the intention of the Grand Duke of Kiev, Svyatoslav Igorevitch to transfer the state's capital to Presthlavitza, where goods from all countries were available, ascribed to the year 969. More recent research treats this statement as dubious, however, proposing that it reflects a situation not before but after the year 1000, when the Presthlavitza trade-port was already firmly established²⁸. Here also the sale of Bohemian slaves and slave-girls seems to have been successful, as is implied by a cluster of finds of slave shackles in the lower Danube area²⁹. In at least one instance, a Jewish merchant from Constantinople purchased slaves in Prague³⁰.

Visitors to Bohemia, sometimes from very distant countries, might have taken this route to travel as far as the heart of Europe. The Muslim author al-Mas'udi, whom we have already mentioned, obtained his information about Bohemia from at least one Slav merchant who visited the Volga-river basin, and from a Muslim doing business with the Slavs from his base somewhere on the Volga river³¹. The same authority mentions 'White Hungarians' living in the Caucasus region who were famous for the axes they produced³². How closely these can be connected with an ostentatious silver-plated ax found in grave 120 of the Stará-Kouřim cemetery³³ is unclear at the present moment. One of the bodies, buried between 870 and 950 at the central Bohemian castle of Tetín, showed evidence of a rare type of head disease that usually occurred in the human haplotype subgroup C2, widespread in the Caucasus, Asia Minor and the Iranian highlands³⁴.

²⁷ Oikonomides 1983.

²⁸ Perkhavko 1995.

²⁹ Henning 1992.

³⁰ Třeštík 2001, 120, fn. 143.

³¹ Kalus 1996, 130–135.

³² Russell 2004, 940.

³³ Benda 1967, Pl. 68.

³⁴ Kubálek-Stolz-Sasková-Vaněk 2008.

Both northbound directions from Bohemia – towards the northeast and northwest, along the Labe and Odra rivers – provided a link between the Přemyslid realms and the Baltic, one of the most lively regions of European trade in the early Middle Ages. Here again, we would probably be correct in assuming the export of standard goods, named repeatedly in the written sources, from Bohemia. Slave sales on the lower Labe have come to light in yet another cluster of finds of slave shackles within the Schleswig-Holstein region³⁵. Among the goods brought to Bohemia and Moravia along this route, though not necessarily of northeastern European origin, precious stones such as carnelian and rock crystal occupy a prominent place³⁶.

Bohemia-based traders visiting the Baltic brought back the coins that were current in that area. At the beginning of the tenth-century, Muslim *dirhams* predominated, but over the course of the same century, these gave way to issues of western European origin. Bohemia has very little to offer by way of Muslim coins. Apparently, this land was situated at the southernmost tip of the sphere in which *dirhams* circulated where no really important business took place³⁷.

Byzantine gold coins, on the other hand, seem to have found their way into tenth and eleventh-century Bohemia³⁸.

The only major hoard of not only Muslim, but also Byzantine and western coin issues came to light at Kelč, in northern Moravia³⁹. This carries some importance insofar as among other pieces of scrap silver ('Hacksilber'), it included a silver locket ('kaptorga') decorated with a depiction of three horses. Such lockets represent very rare finds and seem to have belonged to the land's most elite families⁴⁰. The merchant who buried the Kelč hoard must therefore have had access to the very highest aristocracy – possibly to the family of the suzerains - of coeval Bohemia and Moravia, while the find also attests to elite engagement in long-distance trade. This accords well with what we know from early medieval Scandinavia, where even kings did not hesitate to do business with seafaring merchants⁴¹.

³⁵ Henning 1992.

³⁶ Bláha 2000 for a find of a piece of raw carnelian, identified as being of Indian (Kashmiri?) origin, in Olomouc, Moravia.

³⁷ On this see most recently Profantová-Novák 2005.

³⁸ Militký 2006, 133–134.

³⁹ For a review of the recent literature see also Profantová-Novák 2005.

⁴⁰ On such lockets see now Štefan 2004.

⁴¹ A case in point being King Olaf Haraldsson (Saint Olaf of Norway, + 1031), who entered into such a partnership with a gentleman named Gudleik Gerzki. This is referred

A number of Czech authors have commented on the renowned report of Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub at-Turtushi, an Andalusian visitor to Bohemia in the 960s. Ibrahim refers to pieces of loosely woven textile which served as a currency. Such kerchiefs were used for procuring everyday goods and even possessed a stable rate of exchange for coins. The exceedingly high value of silver reported by Ibrahim does rather imply that far from being commonly accessible, silver was rare and much sought-after in tenth-century Bohemia, perhaps used as a currency reserve and for hoarding as a permanently precious commodity⁴².

Tenth-century Přemyslid dukes started to strike their own coins in order to facilitate commercial operations, especially large-scale ones. When this happened is difficult to say. Current opinion has it that either Boleslav I (935–972) or Boleslav II (972–999) opened the Bohemian mint with coin issues imitating those of Bavarian Regensburg. Immediately afterwards, however, they took the model of the renowned, and much sought-after, silver pennies of the Anglo-Saxon type struck most notably by King Ethelred the Unready (978–1016)⁴³.

Up to now, Czech research has viewed with skepticism a unique find of a lead coin imitating Regensburg issues of the early tenth-century with texts in Latin script, possibly referring to Duke Wenceslas and to Prague (VACLAV CNIZ, PRAGA CIVITA). This coin found its way into a tenth-century archeological context, recorded by controlled excavations at Staraya-Kazan' in the region of the Volga river⁴⁴. (Fig. 36)

We may ask where the silver used for striking the first Bohemian coins came from. In the tenth-century, the technology which would access the rich silver-ore deposits of Kutná-Hora/Kuttenberg in central Bohemia was still unknown. It has, however, been suggested that the silver from melted-down Muslim *dirhams* might have served to provide the raw material for the earliest Bohemian coin issues⁴⁵.

to in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* (Glazyrina-Džakson 1987, 70–74), as well as in his *Saga of Saint Olaf* (Heger 1967, § 66, pp. 63–64).

⁴² Klápště 2005, 316–317. A similar mode of payment is documented by finds of actual rolls of silk with inscriptions in Han dynasty China: Ribaud 1991. Regarding such payments in China between the last third of the eighth and the beginning of the tenth-century, see de la Vaissière 2002, 322. The Uyghurs also used textiles as a means of payment (*ibid.*), as did eighth-century Turkish mercenaries operating in Sogd (*ibid.*, 268). 'Conversion tables' similar to those mentioned by Ibrahim with the ratio of the kerchiefs to coins are known from Inner Asia: de la Vaissière 2002, 267.

⁴³ Petráň 1998.

⁴⁴ Numismatické listy 1999.

⁴⁵ Petráň 2006, 80 fn. 131.



Figure 36: A Bohemian lead coin (?) with the inscriptions VACLAV CNIZ and PRAGA CIVITA, found in a tenth-century context in the central part of a castle at Kazan '(Staraya Kazan') (Numismatické list 1999/4, p. 107, Fig. 3).

*Vratislav I (Between 905 and 915–921)*⁴⁶

Major structural transformations of the early state of Bohemia under Spytihněv I continued to progress during the reign of his (presumably) younger but much more ambitious brother, Vratislav. Under him, signs of a far-reaching concept appeared on the Bohemian political scene. The young duke's ambitions are manifest in his name⁴⁷. He also chose his consort in a manner that clearly indicated his extensive political designs. Dragomir, whom he married in 906 or 907⁴⁸, was a princess of noble blood from the 'tribe' of Havolané-Stodorané, one of the foremost political groupings in what is now central Saxony⁴⁹. Her 'tribe', originally a member of a confederation of the Veleti 'tribe', renamed Liutici after 983⁵⁰, enjoyed the highest respect as the primary source of political power among the Slavs and the earliest political configuration of that people⁵¹. She probably professed the Christian faith⁵².

⁴⁶ Summary of the data in Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 548–549.

⁴⁷ Vratislav = 'return the glory!'

⁴⁸ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 7 p. 22.

⁴⁹ On these see now Lübke 2008, 198.

⁵⁰ Lübke 2008, 197–199.

⁵¹ Kalus 1996, 131, 133–134.

⁵² Lübke, RGSEO I No. 68 on pp. 93–94, records an entry commemorating the death of Tugumir, a Havolané-Stodorané prince and probably a relative of Dragomir

Vratislav seems to have maintained good relations with the west - an easy task since the political structures of both the western and eastern Frankish empires had fallen into a state of turmoil by this time. We have already suggested that the choice of St. George as the patron saint of the second church within the Prague Castle enclosure may have been influenced by the activities of Hatto, archbishop of Mainz and abbot of the Reichenau Abbey on the Bodensee in southwestern Germany (891–913). It was due to him that Reichenau twice received – in 893 and then in 910 - relics of St. George from Rome⁵³. It seems logical to suppose that these circumstances could have found their reflection in the activities of the Prague ducal court. Also, the presence of Bishop Notherius of Verona in Prague in 915, where he assisted at the hair-cutting ceremony of the young Wenceslas, attests to friendly contacts with Christian Europe⁵⁴.

It is of particular regret that we have virtually no information about Vratislav's foreign policy. The Hungarian historical tradition repeatedly mentions armed conflict with the Bohemians on the northwestern frontier of the then nascent Hungarian kingdom, followed by the conclusion of peace, in the Waag-Gran river region of present-day southwestern Slovakia⁵⁵. It would also greatly interest us to know who gave the name

(+ May 25th, after 940), in a necrology of the Möllenbeck monastery. This implies that Tugumir was a Christian, and we may thus infer that Dragomir was also.

⁵³ See above, Struck 1990, and Charvát 1999a, 19–20.

⁵⁴ See Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 45–46.

⁵⁵ The earliest 'Anonymus' chronicle (*P. Magistri qui Anonymus dicitur Gesta Hungarorum*), written in the second half of the twelfth-century (MMFH 2008, 220), states that after the death of King Attila, the duke of the Bohemians took the region between the Waag and the Gran rivers from the Danube as far as the Morava river (MMFH 2008, 235–236: *mortuo Attila rege terram, que iacet inter Wag et Gron a Danubio usque ad fluvium Moroua dux Boemorum sibi preoccupaverat et in unum ducatum fecerat*, see also *ibid.* p. 246). A later source, 'Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum', written in 1282–1285, dependent on the 'Anonymus' data but adding some hitherto unknown evidence (MMFH 2008, 282), refers to the death of Duke Vratislav during a battle with the Hungarians (MMFH 2008, 286: *Moraviam et Bohemiam bonis omnibus spoliaverunt Waratizlao eorum duce in prelio interfecto*). A still later text, 'Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV', written perhaps around 1350 according to data provided by Simon of Keza and by later sources (MMFH 2008, 303), mentions a pillaging of Moravia and Bohemia under the rule of Duke Vratislav (MMFH 2008, 54: *Moraviam et Bohemiam, in quibus eo tempore dux Vratizlaus regnare videbatur*) followed by an armistice with the said duke (*ibid.*: *treugis ordinatis cum prefato duce uno anno quieverunt*). The same data are supplied by a 'Chronicon Heinrici de Mügeln germanice conscriptum' (1358–1361, MMFH 2008, 317), dependent on the 'Chronici Hungarici compositio' but with some earlier, eleventh-century material (Vratislav's rule over Bohemia and Moravia, MMFH 2008, 320); and by a 'Chronicon rhythmicum Heinrici de Mügeln' of the same author (MMFH 2008, 322), mentioning *treugas cum Vratizlao* (MMFH 2008, 327). On the Hungarian historical tradition see now Curta 2006b, 15–16. A skeptical stance towards any possible Bohemian expansion under Vratislav is taken by Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 101–109.

Vratislav to the Silesian city, known throughout its history as Breslau and as Wrocław and entering written sources in the tenth-century.

Is it conceivable that the re-structuring of the early state of Bohemia under Spytihněv I, combined with the presence of military experts who had lost their jobs with the fall of the early state of Moravia after 907 along the eastern border, could have resulted in the first Bohemian expansion towards the east and southeast? The *translatio regni*, transmission of the kingdom of Moravia to Bohemia, is referred to fairly late in Bohemian sources, in the Czech-language Chronicle of Dalimil at the beginning of the fourteenth-century⁵⁶. If something of this order actually happened, then Vratislav and his successors could count on the loyalty of the surviving Moravian administration to their new overlords, the dukes of Bohemia.

Unfortunately, there is no reliable information from early sources to confirm any of this.

Ludmila, Dragomir, Wenceslas (925–935)

The sudden, and, it would seem, unexpected death of Vratislav I on February 13th, 921⁵⁷ threw the early state of Bohemia into crisis⁵⁸. Since both elder sons of the ruling duke – Václav and Boleslav⁵⁹ – were still at a very young age at the time of his death, Dragomir took over the government of Bohemia, assuming the role of a regent duchess. This launched her and her followers into an apparently dramatic conflict with the dowager Duchess Ludmila, however. Although Ludmila ultimately took refuge in her own castle at Tetín, two members of Dragomir's entourage are reported to have stolen into her house at night and strangled the old lady with her own veil⁶⁰. Whether this happened at Dragomir's instigation, or whether another person had his or her share at stake, we shall never know.

The situation became even more difficult when Arnulph, duke of Bavaria, made an armed incursion into Bohemia in 922⁶¹. The Bohemians

⁵⁶ MMFH 2008, 297b.

⁵⁷ Sommer-Třeštík-Zemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 549.

⁵⁸ If Vratislav was indeed killed in battle against the Hungarians, this would not be surprising.

⁵⁹ Incidentally, their names mean the same, and betray their father's ambitions – 'more glory' and '(even) more glory'.

⁶⁰ Legendary texts put the martyrdom of Ludmila at September 15th, 921: Sommer-Třeštík-Zemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 548.

⁶¹ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 19 p. 22, see also Matła-Kozłowska 2008, 45–47.

retaliated by letting a Hungarian host pass through their land to attack Saxony in 924⁶².

After a period of turbulence, the situation settled down to a degree that allowed Wenceslas, Vratislav's eldest son and apparently his designated heir, to take over the rule of Bohemia. This evidently took place without further disturbance and the passage of government appears to have gone smoothly. This shows that the leaders of the early state of Bohemia handled the crisis well, and that the freshly consolidated state structures were able to withstand the shock.

As to the actual events of the reign of Duke Wenceslas, later to become Saint Wenceslas of Bohemia (925?–935), the only references we have from authentic sources are two sentences in the work of the Saxon chronicler, Widukind. A lot of pseudo-data may be culled from church legends describing his life and deeds, but until we have a critical examination of these legends at our disposal, and until we are clear how much of their data can be taken at face value, and how much has been borrowed from coeval literary works in terms of figures of speech, style or *loci communes*, none of the St. Wenceslas legends can be reliably used as historical sources.

Duke Wenceslas⁶³ certainly cannot be deemed a sentimental weakling who spent his time reading books and pondering divine justice and providence. He evidently spearheaded further expansion of the Přemyslid domain of central Bohemia into lands which did not acknowledge his suzerainty. The story of his encounter with a Kouřim chieftain, who challenged him to personal combat before the assembled troops, and then capitulated on seeing a shining cross on Wenceslas's forehead, well masks the aggression of the Prague overlord⁶⁴. He may have added southern and northwestern Bohemia to the realms of the Přemyslid dynasty. Also, some of his deeds in the propagation of Christianity do suggest rather straightforward, simplistic thinking. At Easter time, when baptisms were usually held in the church, Wenceslas sent agents to the market to buy young slaves (presumably as catechumens) if no other candidates could be found⁶⁵.

That being said, Wenceslas did deliberately proceed to build up the institutional base of Bohemian Christianity. Having established the

⁶² Lübke, RGSEO I No. 21 p. 34.

⁶³ See now Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 45–62, 75.

⁶⁴ The *Christianus* text (Ludvíkovský 1978, 100–103). Recent research dates this text to the end of the tenth-century, so at least this source might be considered authentic.

⁶⁵ The *Christianus* text, Ludvíkovský 1978, 68–69.

church of St. Guy (*Sanctus Vitus*) in the center of Prague Castle⁶⁶, he procured a relic of the patron saint of Saxony, reportedly from Henry the Fowler himself⁶⁷. He did, however, also take an unprecedented step in having the body of the murdered Duchess Ludmila translated from Tetín to Prague on November 11th, 925⁶⁸. This was the very first procedure of its kind in Bohemia, and while Christian European princes took such initiatives fairly often⁶⁹, we may take it as evidence that Wenceslas had well-qualified advisers in matters of Christian doctrine. If this were so then by his actions, Wenceslas could indeed have aimed to secure the essentials for the establishment of an episcopal see in Prague – a church of sufficient representatives, and a collection of relics that could serve as a spiritual fortification of the new institution. Let us not forget that in the Middle Ages, the possession of relics also gave legitimacy to secular rule⁷⁰.

Another step that Wenceslas may have taken towards the fortification of the state doctrine of Bohemia was the ‘subduing’ of the old *Mihr*, or *mir*, present in the stone throne within the central precinct of Prague Castle. By building a Christian church right next to the place where *Mihr* resided, Wenceslas probably intended to overpower the old deity and subject it to the Christian faith. He thus provided a link between the Indo-European past and the Christian present. Henceforth, every new Bohemian duke who was seated on the stone throne continued to take over the *Mihr* – *mir* -, but from now on, it was the Christian, St. Wenceslas’s *mir*⁷¹.

Where the empire was concerned, however, Wenceslas had to be cautious. After the 924–926 truce with the Hungarians, King Henry the Fowler of Saxony used his time well⁷². First, he took measures to

⁶⁶ The *Christianus* text, Ludvíkovský 1978, 62–63.

⁶⁷ Sommer-Třeštík-Zemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 533, with ref.

⁶⁸ The *Christianus* text, Ludvíkovský 1978, 52–53. We quite understand the rather reserved attitude of the Regensburg Bishop Tuto, whom Wenceslas asked for permission to translate Ludmila’s body: ‘let them...give the body over to funeral, until they perceive the glory of Christ.’ (*corpus...sepulture traderent, gloriam Christi donec cernerent*).

⁶⁹ Bozóky 2006, 225–254 on translations of saints’ bodies on the initiatives of secular princes. Let us notice the reasons given by a duke of Brittany for deposition of sacred relics in a monastic altar in 869: *pro perpetuaque prosperitate totiusque regni nostri fideliumque nostrorum tranquillissima stabilitate necnon ad augmentum felicitatis et pacis totius Britanniae*.

⁷⁰ Bozóky 2006, 153–165, 171–195.

⁷¹ As attested to by the legend on the official seal of Bohemian dukes and kings of the Přemysl lineage: PAX DUCIS (var. REGIS) XY IN MANU SANCTI WENCEZLAI.

⁷² Lübke, RGSEO I No. 21b p. 36.

strengthen the defense of his eastern frontier. Sometime after 925, he established the so-called Merseburg legion, manned by condemned robbers who, upon waiver of their prison terms, took up residence outside the city of Merseburg, where they received land parcels in return for which they were obliged to perform military services, particularly attacks upon *barbaros*⁷³. Henry then proceeded in a campaign against the Havolané-Stodorané (in the winter of 928–929)⁷⁴. Immediately afterwards, in the spring of 929, the king initiated a punitive action against other Slav groups along the empire's southeastern border. He treated the Daleminci 'tribe', resident on the middle Elbe river due northwest of the Bohemian frontier, with particular brutality. After the storming of their principal castle, all adults were killed and children were sold into slavery⁷⁵. The savage nature of this action was undoubtedly calculated to be a very clear public warning to all those who felt inclined to pact with the empire's enemies, as the Hungarians had repeatedly ravaged Saxony by entry through (presumably Bohemian, and then) Daleminci territory. Henry's insistence on the integration of this region into imperial administration, in order to control an area of vital importance to the empire's safety, can be seen in the establishment of the castle of Meissen in 929.

We can imagine how, after the chilling news of the imperial armies' cruelty against the Daleminci reached Prague in the early summer of 929, Wenceslas and his commanders waited in nervous anticipation of Henry's retaliation for their earlier actions against the empire. This came in due course, and in the summer of 929, Saxon troops, reinforced by a Bavarian contingent commanded by the intrepid Arnulph, arrived at Prague. Wenceslas had no choice but to humble himself before Henry, acknowledge him as suzerain and take on the obligation of annual payment to the imperial administration⁷⁶.

It was only with the end of Henry the Fowler's reign that Wenceslas went into action again. In 932, Saxon troops invaded Lower Lusatia and stormed and destroyed the castle of *Liubusua*, which then remained deserted until 1012⁷⁷. This showed Wenceslas that the old king had lost none of his ferocity, and he presumably decided to test how far this

⁷³ I. e. Slavs, Lübke, RGSEO I No. 23 pp. 37–38.

⁷⁴ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 25 pp. 40–42.

⁷⁵ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 27 pp. 43–45.

⁷⁶ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 29 pp. 45–47.

⁷⁷ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 36 pp. 55–56.

was true. At the beginning of the year 933, Hungarian hosts invaded Saxony again, presumably with the aid of Wenceslas who let them pass through Bohemia. This time, however, the Hungarian appeal for help to the Daleminci, their former allies, was turned down⁷⁸, and on March 15th, 933, Henry the Fowler's troops inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hungarian host in a battle by *Riade*⁷⁹. Having defeated a 'tribe' of the rather particular name of Ukrani (*Vucrani*) in a campaign of the following year, Henry managed to disarm and neutralize the entire eastern border of the empire⁸⁰.

These last campaigns were definitely an instructive lesson to Wenceslas. Without being involved himself, he had acquired valuable knowledge about the political situation along the southeastern border of the empire. He and his strategists must have heeded the devastating effect of Henry the Fowler's campaigns on the Slav population groups beyond the Bohemian frontiers, and their lack of initiative for any armed action against the empire. The Přemyslid duke and his advisers must have also realized that this new situation made the prospects gloomy for any Hungarian attacks on the empire, and thus cast doubts on the value of the ancient alliance between Bohemians and Hungarians. Before Wenceslas could make any decision, however, fate intervened in a most unexpected manner.

Just before we deal with the dramatic end of Wenceslas's reign, however, let us take a look at the duchy's economic resources at the beginning of the tenth-century, and especially at the question of the slave trade as 'fuel' for the newly established state machine of the first Přemyslids. In the light of a major contribution recently made to the issue, this merits a re-examination⁸¹.

The question to be tackled is that of the export of (possibly Bohemian and certainly) Slav slaves, known in Arabic sources as *Saqaliba*, especially to the Near East, Maghrib and al-Andalus⁸². We have already heard about a slave market at Prague in the time of Duke Wenceslas, and although this reference comes from a legendary source, modern research tends to see it as reliable. Some data from tenth-century al-Andalus do indeed point to the conclusion that considerable numbers of Slav slaves

⁷⁸ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 38 pp. 57–58.

⁷⁹ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 39 pp. 58–59.

⁸⁰ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 42 pp. 61–62. This happened after June 25th, 934.

⁸¹ Třeštík 2001.

⁸² On this see recently Nazmi 1998, 74–114; Mishin 1998; Hammer 2002.

must have been delivered to the markets of al-Andalus, especially to Cordoba, in the tenth-century⁸³. Of these, it is important to note that at least under Caliph Abdarraḥman III. (912–961, caliph in 929), most of these slaves did not belong to the Berbers, as noted by a historian of Cordoba, Ibn Hayyan. Another Muslim historian, Ibn Idari, names the *Saqaliba* directly, giving their number in the palace guards under Abdarraḥman III as 3,750⁸⁴.

Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Nāsir had always been opposed to the recruitment of Berbers into the army; there was only a reduced number of soldiers of Berber origin called 'men of Tangiers' and they occupied the lowest position in the hierarchy. In the beginning, al-Hakām al-Mustansir (961–976, pch) took the same line, not hesitating at public demonstrations to pour scorn on anything relating to the Berbers. But at a certain point his opinion changed radically and he became their most ardent supporter, and then he set about incorporating them into his army in considerable numbers.

Ibn Hayyan on Army Recruitment under Abdarraḥman III. (912–961) (L. Molina, in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* X, p. 852).

In Cordoba, some of the *Saqaliba* rose to a prominence that was unheard of. In the mountain city of Madina az-Zahra, the summer residence of the caliphs of Cordoba, erected on the orders of Abdarraḥman III after 936, a *Saqaliba* gentleman named Ya'far as-Siqlabi, received the honor of having a *villa* built for him next to the caliph's private residence⁸⁵.

But when did such large numbers of eastern-European slaves reach the rather distant destination of al-Andalus? We may date initial contacts to the first decades of the tenth-century, but their greatest influx is likely to have occurred in the caliphal years of Abdarraḥman III, that is, roughly 930–961, with a possible 'hangover' for the first years of al-Hakam II. This is most interesting with regard to the identification of the sources of this 'commodity'. Although, of course, the *Saqaliba* denomination may refer to anyone from Europe north of the Alps and east of the Rhine, their presence in large numbers in Cordoba is likely to have resulted from organized contacts, and to have happened in relation

⁸³ The total number of slaves in tenth-century Cordoba is estimated at five to fifteen thousand, with a third of these employed in the caliphal palace: Dufourcq 1978, 131. Ten thousand slaves were sold in Cordoba over a period of five years: Hodges 1986, 128.

⁸⁴ Nazmi 1998, 79, fn. 27.

⁸⁵ Barceló-Cantero 1995. Ya'far was a chambellan, and probably commander of the armed forces, of the Caliph al-Hakam II. (961–976). He died in 970, and his is the only dedicatory inscription of tenth-century al-Andalus, bearing a personal name that does not belong to a caliph.

to wars along the eastern frontier of the Frankish empire, where the large scale of military operations facilitated the capture and enslavement of a great many prisoners.

This assumption leads to another interesting question. We have seen that large-scale fighting did not break out on the eastern frontier until Henry the Fowler's action against the Daleminci in 929. If, then, the mass transportation of *Saqaliba* started after 930, this means that hundreds of people must have arrived in Cordoba every year to make up the high *Saqaliba* presence there. In such a case, we may legitimately ask whether the Bohemian war machine did not participate in these undertakings from the last years of Duke Wenceslas's reign. Again, such an assumption would fit perfectly with the above cited Hungarian sources referring to Hungarian-Bohemian conflicts at the beginning of the tenth-century. Unfortunately, as noted above, we do not have reliable sources. (Fig. 37)

Notwithstanding the dearth of Bohemian sources on the slave trade, surprising discoveries have been made. One of the earliest Church Slavonic penitentials, or communion manuals, dating to the tenth or eleventh-century, may have been written in Bohemia⁸⁶. One of its clauses is most relevant to the issue in question, in that it lays down a punishment for parents who castrate their offspring for monetary gain⁸⁷. That Bohemian parents would do such a horrifying thing to their children in the tenth-century finds some measure of support in the high interest in

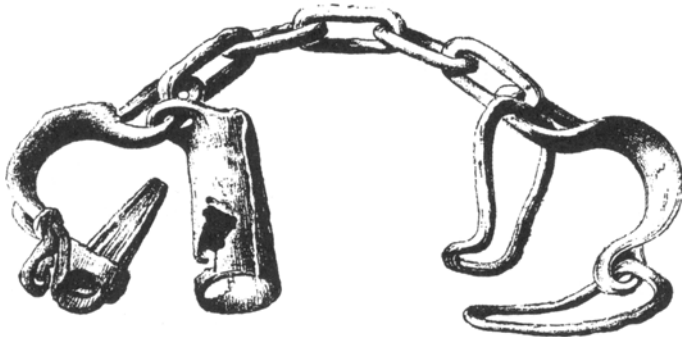


Figure 37: Slave shackles from the vicinity of Verdun (Mourat 2001, 280).

⁸⁶ Vašica 1960; Bláhová 1988, 64–65 a 69.

⁸⁷ Vašica 1960, § 41, p. 45.

eunuchs in the medieval Arab world, and in the difficult problems of their 'manufacture' and survival after the operation⁸⁸.

Finally, let us notice one fact which, while apparently of minor importance, is also significant enough. Only after the reign of Duke Wenceslas can we refer to Bohemians (= BOHEMI) as Czechs. This is attested to in one of the legend texts in Church Slavonic, but in this particular case no objections have been raised to the dating of this ethnonym to such an early period⁸⁹. The Slavic character of the national denomination is thus borne out by written sources from the time of Duke Wenceslas.

Cry Murder!

Let us now deal with an account of one of the most obscure, most mysterious, most senseless, and yet most important events in the history of Bohemia – the murder of Duke Wenceslas at the instigation of his brother Boleslav, which, according to Dušan Třeštík, took place in the latter's castle at (now Stará-) Boleslav on September 28th, 935⁹⁰.

Is there any serious reason to think that the brothers were mortal enemies? I know of none. Indeed, from what one can judge from written sources, they must have been rather alike. They both probably led armies into battle, and did not shirk from getting involved in the slave trade. They maneuvered skilfully in foreign policy, attacking the empire when it was expedient, and backing down if outnumbered. First and foremost, however, they both strove to establish a permanent institution that would contain the newly consolidated statehood of Bohemia – most probably a bishopric, whose incumbents would take up residence at Prague Castle.

Can we view Boleslav as the devil incarnate of later sources? It hardly seems likely. On the contrary, what we know of Boleslav's involvement in later history denotes a great personage, a talented statesman and excellent field commander. Such a person would hardly listen to a counsellor who advised such a horrifying deed as fratricide. Boleslav may have objected to particulars of Wenceslas's policy, but, by and large, the political strategy of the brothers appears to have been much the same. Our amiable twelfth-century chronicler, Cosmas, the canon and later

⁸⁸ Dufourcq 1978, 130–132.

⁸⁹ Bláhová-Konzal 1976, 69 and 92 – 'muži čeští'.

⁹⁰ Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 549.

dean of the Prague chapter of canons, saw Boleslav I as a brother-killer and heaped shame and insinuations upon him. In fact, he went so far as to ascribe some of Boleslav's deeds to his son and successor, Boleslav II, in order to keep Wenceslas's brother looking as wicked and vicious as possible. Cosmas even tells a story of how Boleslav (I), wishing to have a castle built *opere Romano*, called up the local population and ordered them to build him such a structure. When the men in charge protested that they had never done anything like that before and did not know how to build in such a manner, Boleslav is reported to have personally cut off the head of the nearest dignitary with his sword, whereupon the rest executed the order without demur. Incidentally, a tenth-century wall of stone-and-mortar masonry built with lime mortar was actually excavated at Stará-Boleslav⁹¹.

None of this leads to any viable and comprehensible explanation, however. Whatever happened at Boleslav, when the duke's brother and his men sobered up after what may have been no more than a drunken brawl, they had a dead body lying before them. Moreover, the body belonged to their prince, and the land's suzerain. (Fig. 38)



Figure 38: Vojtěch or Adalbert, the second bishop of Prague, reproaches Duke Boleslav II for the sale of Christian slaves to non-Christians. Bronze door of the Gniezno cathedral, Poland, dating to the 1170s and possibly originating from a workshop in the Lower Rhineland.

⁹¹ On excavations at Stará-Boleslav see now Boháčová 2003.

*Boleslav I (935–972)*⁹²

After the murder in the 'black September' of 935, Boleslav was acclaimed duke, and he proceeded to submit proof of his extraordinary qualities as a statesman and soldier.

Widukind's Saxon chronicle tells us how a 'neighborhood kinglet' (*vicinus subregulus*), whose realms bordered on Boleslav's territories, asked for the protection of Saxon troops for fear of his own independence and safety. And indeed, Thuringian and Merseburg detachments soon received orders to comply with the *subregulus* demand. This happened in September of 936, and Boleslav and his field officers reacted swiftly and efficiently. First, Bohemian forces separated the marching Thuringian column from the main body of the Merseburgians and massacred it. Their next target was the Merseburg legion, which, precipitating itself to plunder, fell beyond any reasonable management, and was mercilessly crushed. This was one of the first military actions of the army unit established some time before by Henry the Fowler, and, to be honest, it did perform rather poorly. Finally, the now reunited Bohemian troops stormed the castle of the *subregulus*, who thereupon vanished from history⁹³.

This event marked the beginning of a protracted war that ravaged Bohemian and Saxon lands for the next fourteen years. Fortunes fluctuated between the two sides, although at first Boleslav seemed to have the advantage, as Otto I (936–973) had to intervene against the Rataři (Redarier) 'tribe' in the month of September 936⁹⁴. In the second half of 939, another intervention against the Obodriti 'tribe' led Otto to the northeastern frontier of his empire⁹⁵. It was not until the year 940 that Otto scored a decisive success in having a Stodorané-Havolané prince named Tugumir, who lived as a hostage at his court, take over the reign of his 'tribe', which Tugumir subsequently subordinated to Otto's power⁹⁶. Tugumir died on May 25th of an unknown year, certainly after 940; the fact that his name is registered in a necrology of the Möllenbeck Abbey probably means that he was a Christian, and if so, then Dragomir,

⁹² Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 549–551, see also Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 76–101, 133–150, 219–239.

⁹³ Lübke, RGSEO I, No. 48, pp. 69–70.

⁹⁴ Lübke, RGSEO I, No. 49, pp. 71–72.

⁹⁵ Lübke, RGSEO I, Nos. 63 and 64, pp. 88–89.

⁹⁶ Lübke, RGSEO I, No. 66 pp. 90–92.

Wenceslas's mother and most probably a relative of Tugumir, professed the same faith⁹⁷.

Subordination of the entire area of present-day Brandenburg to the empire meant that the departure points for war activities were moved closer to Bohemian frontiers, and this could not fail to influence the outcome of the fighting. In 946, Widukind's chronicle recorded the presence of Bohemian hostages at Otto's court⁹⁸. The conflict finally ended in 950, when Otto's army invaded Bohemia and trapped Boleslav's son, most probably the future Boleslav II, in one of his castles (*in urbe que nuncupatur Nova*⁹⁹); he was allowed to leave only after swearing an oath of loyalty to Otto¹⁰⁰.

Let us now consider what has just been said. Current research reconstructs Boleslav's reign as a key period when Přemyslid power first reached beyond the borders of their central Bohemian realms, created some time before by Spytihněv I. Boleslav is assumed to have initiated the building of a series of castles in wider Bohemia, which served as bases for the extension of his power as far as the enclosing mountain ranges. This would have meant that he could assist the empire with much greater force than before; Boleslav is reported to have sent Otto a contingent of two thousand warriors to fight against the Hungarians at Lech (955). New fortifications do appear in written sources. In the Mělník region, for instance, the old Pšov is replaced by a 'newly erected' castle at the end of the tenth-century. In 950, Otto I's office dated one of his charters *Behaim suburbio Niuunburg*, and herein also falls the *urbs que nuncupatur Nova* of Otto and Boleslav of 950¹⁰¹. (Fig. 39)

And now for the data. It has been argued that in 929, Duke Wenceslas did not fight the incoming Saxon and Bavarian armies because he could not stop them at the border; being limited to Spytihněv's realms, his power did not reach there. I think I have shown that after the punitive action against the Daleminci, Wenceslas had very good reasons for not taking action and putting on a show of humility.

On the other hand, Boleslav had a sufficiently large and well-trained army at his disposal after his brother's death. In 936, he and his commanders took perfectly orchestrated action against three enemy targets,

⁹⁷ Lübke, RGSEO I, No. 68 pp. 93–94.

⁹⁸ Lübke, RGSEO I, No. 80 pp. 103–104.

⁹⁹ Sláma 1988, 71–84.

¹⁰⁰ Lübke, RGSEO I, No. 85 pp. 118–120.

¹⁰¹ All information is contained in Sláma 1988.

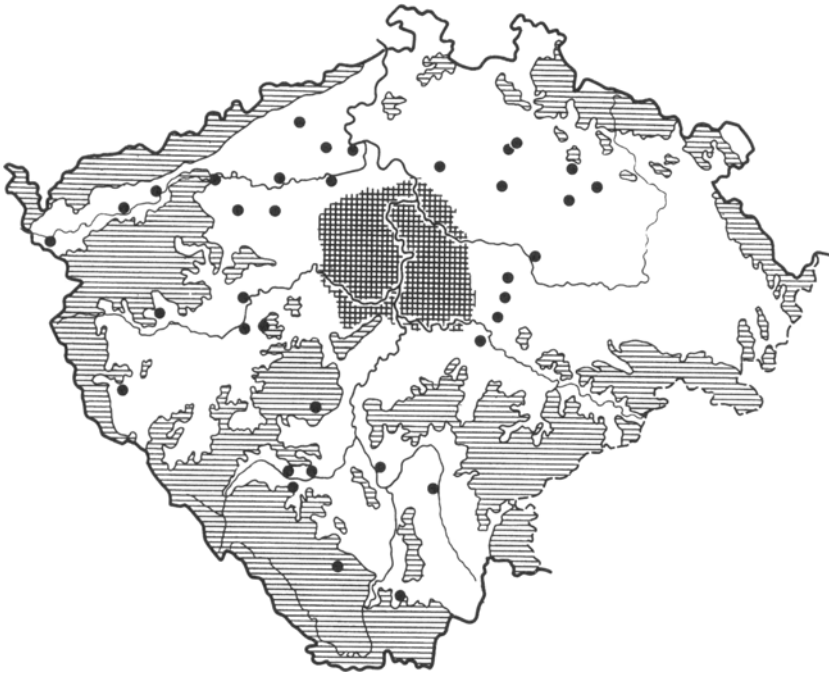


Figure 39: A map of Bohemia before 930 by Jiří Sláma. The original Přemyslid realms in central Bohemia are indicated by crossed lines. Dark dots denote major fortifications in the rest of Bohemia (Sláma 1988, 81 Fig. 29).

wiping them out in a single sweep. The Bohemians immediately waged war on the empire, a campaign that lasted from 936 to 950. They ended it with what was essentially a symbolic action, and undoubtedly at their own decision.

All that was involved in the expansion of Přemyslid power - including occupation of the land, struggle or negotiations with the incumbents of the then existent public offices, the building of new castles and the acquisition of all the necessary appurtenances - is then supposed to have taken place in 936–950, in conditions of quasi-permanent military conflict with the empire.

To me, it seems rather more logical to suppose that this administrative and military activity started earlier than has previously been presumed, probably during Wenceslas's reign, if not earlier. We have seen that the number of Slav slaves delivered to Cordoba after 930, or even after 912, was so great as to indicate plentiful and permanent supply sources. Before 947, the Arab geographer al-Mas'udi describes the lord

of Prague as a prince who owns a gold mine (*sic!*), extensive and well-farmed provinces, numerous armies and considerable military resources. He is also reported to have waged war against the Greeks, Franks, Hungarians and other nations¹⁰².

Could all this have been achieved over fourteen years, in conditions of quasi-permanent military conflict?

Be that as it may, modern research ascribes the first wave of conquests of the Bohemian state to Boleslav I. We have already heard that Bohemian troops fought with Otto's army against the Hungarians at the battle of Lech (955), possibly in cooperation with Serbian-speaking nobles¹⁰³. At least since 958, complete trust prevailed between Otto and Boleslav¹⁰⁴. In 961, the Regensburg monk Boso missioned the Elbe Slavs probably with Přemyslid support¹⁰⁵.

In the meantime, Bohemian commanders and fighting men are supposed to have brought Moravia, Silesia, probably also Lesser Poland and southwestern Slovakia (the Waag region) under ducal power, and to have campaigned as far as Grody Czerwińskie by the city of Przemyśl in present-day southeastern Poland, close to the border with modern Ukraine. All of this did, of course, happen under the proviso that these regions did not display any form of state organization, and that public power, if any, was wielded by chieftains or heads of early states whose resources could hardly have been sufficient to prevail against the Bohemian war machine, fortified by an armed conflict that had lasted at least for one, if not for several, decades. (Fig. 40)

Bohemia Among the Nations

It would be strange indeed if the dynamically developing state within the eastern half of Europe had failed to attract the attention of politicians, managers and scholars of the time. In fact, fame of Boleslav and his deeds seems to have reached very distant regions. (Fig. 41)

The often cited Abdarrahan III, emir and then caliph of Cordoba, employed Hasday ibn Shaprut, (circa 915–970), scholar, Greek and Latin

¹⁰² Kalus 1996, 132.

¹⁰³ After the battle, Slav warriors, probably serving a Serbian *senior* named *Cuchavicius in Zuencua* who probably fought on the Bohemian side, appropriated the armour of the fallen commander Conrad von Lothringen: Lübke, RGSEO I No. 99 pp. 133–134.

¹⁰⁴ In 958, Otto exiled Count Reginar of Hainault to Bohemia where he subsequently died: Lübke, RGSEO I No. 107 p. 146.

¹⁰⁵ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 119 pp. 163–164.



Figure 40: A map of early medieval Bohemia by Jiří Sláma. Dark squares with toponyms show centers of Přemyslid castle administration, the establishment of which is assumed to have been initiated by Boleslav I (935–972). Small, dark dots in their vicinity indicate earlier fortifications, which were presumably deserted when the new Přemyslid centers were built (Sláma 1988, 83 Fig. 30).

translator, physician and financial adviser, at his court.¹⁰⁶ Some time around 950, Hasday received unconfirmed reports about a powerful Jewish state on the eastern fringe of Europe, somewhere on the Volga river; these reports clearly referred to the realms of the Khazarians. Following caliphal approval, Hasday decided to send an embassy to this state. Initially he sent his emissaries to Constantinople, but they were effectively detained in the Byzantine capital on the pretext of uncertainty about both overland and maritime routes. Hasday then proposed a second route *via* Jerusalem, from where the Khazarian state could be reached by crossing the Caucasus.

At the time of preparations for this embassy, the Cordoba court hosted a visit by a group of envoys from the king of *ha-Gebalim* ('who are

¹⁰⁶ On Hasday see Kaplony 1996 and Nazmi 1998, 116 and 160.

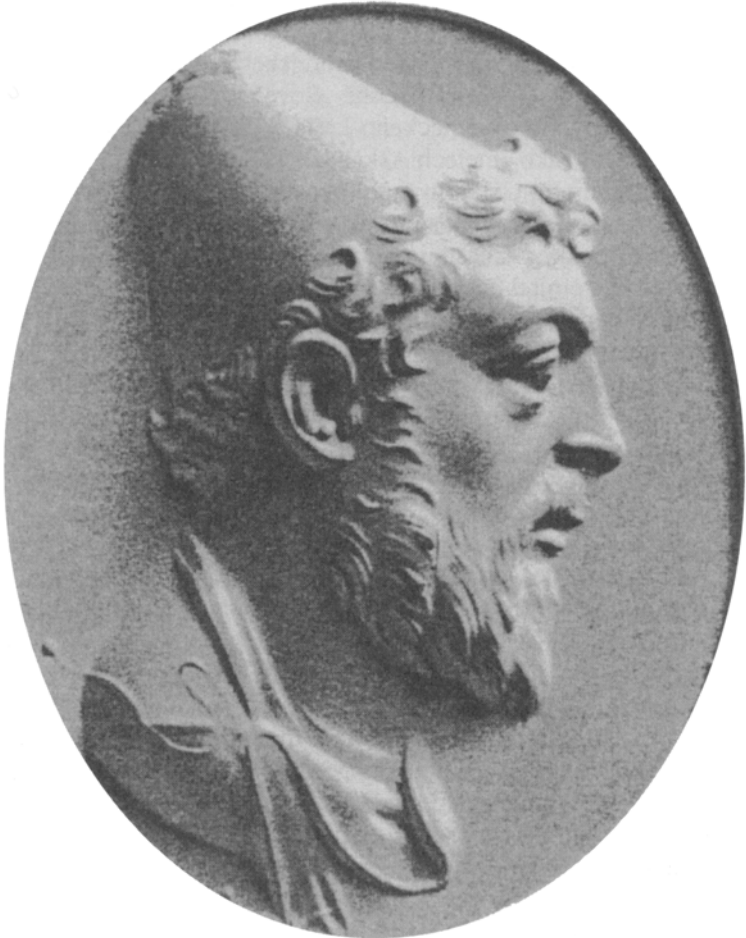


Figure 41: We know virtually nothing about the emergence of the Jewish community in Bohemia. Yet the inhabitants of Prague, and later on, of other major sites in Bohemia, must have come into contact with people like this gentleman, whose face was carved in stone by a Greek or Roman artist, possibly in the tenth-century (Beazley 2002, No. 97, p. 63 and Pl. 20).

Slavs'). Two members of this group, Mar Saul and Mar Joseph, informed Hasday that they knew of the existence of the Khazarian state. They recalled how, about six years before their journey to Cordoba, they had welcomed a wise, old, blind Jewish gentleman named Mar Amram into their homeland. Mar Amram had told them about his visit to the court of the Khazarian ruler, who had received him honorably and invited him to dine at his table. On hearing this, Hasday hastened to send

an envoy to fetch Mar Amram to Cordoba, but the traveler could not be found. Mar Saul and Mar Joseph then offered to deliver any message that Hasday would wish to send to the ruler of the Volga-river regions to the king of their country, who would be able to dispatch it by the mediation of their co-religionists in *Hungrin*, the Russians and the Bulgarians.

Hasday accepted this offer, and the transaction apparently went ahead, since the surviving reply of Joseph, kagan of the Khazarians, ultimately found its way into texts deposited in the Cairo genizah.

Despite lively debate about the identity of the king of *ha-Gebalim*, it is difficult to point to any particular personage. The ethnonym is likely to derive from the Biblical toponym of Byblos or Gebal, and thus *ha-Gebalim* is best translated, I believe, as 'Northerners'. He was probably not the German king, Hasday's *melekh Ashkenaz*. However, given the general Mediterranean uncertainty about matters north of the Alps, no firm conclusions can be based on these data. That the *ha-Gebalim* king may be identical with Boleslav I, as has been proposed¹⁰⁷, can be neither confirmed nor refuted.

The Hasday incident does, however, point to a new, and major historical phenomenon relating to the time of Boleslav I. During this period, the first permanent Jewish communities appeared in east-central Europe, north of the Alps and east of the Rhine. Their decision to settle here was clearly connected with international trade, offering the local elites their expertise in financial and commercial matters, and their widespread networks of contacts. Hasday's effort to make contact with the other side of Europe constitutes an eloquent example of what a well-informed, well-placed and determined agent could do for his suzerain, and for his people. As soon as they took up residence in the Czech lands, the Jewish newcomers took care to familiarize themselves with the country's culture and spirituality, beginning with the language. We know that in the Middle Ages, Jews in the Czech lands spoke Slavic, *lishon Kenaan*, which they carefully distinguished from German, *lishon ashkenaz*¹⁰⁸.

The fact that some of them were among the wealthiest people in coeval Bohemia has recently been borne out by the archeological find of a huge gold ring set with a stone mass depicting Victoria, the Roman

¹⁰⁷ On this see Kaplony 1996, Putík 1996 and Třeštík 2001, and also Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 143–146.

¹⁰⁸ Šedinová 1996.

goddess of victory, at the Náměstí-Republiky excavations in Prague, just outside the ramparts of the Staré-Město¹⁰⁹.

It is difficult to say what form Christian-Jewish coexistence took in the Bohemia of the early Middle Ages. In general, however, Jewish communities fell under the protection of European princes, who saw them as an important source of revenue and information. The situation that apparently prevailed finds eloquent illustration in a privilege charter by Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa to the Jewish Community of Worms in 1157. This text confirms the earlier customs granted by Henry IV, most probably to the Speyer community in 1090, and does, in general, reflect a situation which the sources have outlined since the time of the Carolingian empire. The following rights were confirmed to the Jewish communities by these edicts:

- safe keeping of personal property,
- freedom of movement for purposes of enterprise with exemption from customs and tolls,
- exemption from the duty to lodge troops and to give them food,
- a just trial, if a Jew will be found in possession of stolen goods,
- protection from enforced baptisms,
- consent to holding non-Christian slaves, including those who were baptized in order to be redeemed (but Jews were not permitted to keep Christians as slaves),
- a just trial if a Jew will be found in conflict with a Christian,
- the right of Jewish communities to settle their own internal questions and affairs by themselves, or their internal autonomy,
- the right to sell wine, medicines and coloring agents to Christians¹¹⁰.

One of the most extensive reports on tenth-century Bohemia and Prague comes from a traveler, diplomat and perhaps merchant from Abdarraḥman's Andalusia, Ibrahīm ibn Ya'qub at Turtuḥi. Let us now hear about this intrepid explorer and intelligent observer.

Ibrahīm ibn Ya'qub (after 930? – after 966?)

It is regrettable that the text of Ibrahīm's account of his voyage 'to the edge of the world', as it must have seemed to him, has not survived in its

¹⁰⁹ Zavřel-Žegklitz 2007.

¹¹⁰ Cohen 2005, 63–64.

entirety¹¹¹. His epithet *at-Turtushi* means that he was a native of Tortosa, a Catalan city in the estuary of the Ebro river by the Mediterranean sea. That Abdarraḥman III took care to build up Tortosa's port and embarkation facilities indicates that the city constituted a major center of international trade. Ibrahim evidently received a good education, giving him not only command of both spoken and written Hebrew and Arabic, but also some insights into Greek and Roman mythology. His quest for a career ultimately led him to Cordoba, where he took up a post in the city's administration. The interests revealed in the text of his report – in public order and sanitary measures, trade, exchange and the wealth of the nations – imply that his charge might have been one of a *mukhtasib*, an official overseer of trade and public health, but this is by no means certain. He seems to have come to the attention of Hasday ibn Shaprut, of whom we heard earlier, and sometime around 960 Ibrahim went on his 'grand tour' through eastern Europe. We know that at that time, the Cordoba court was greatly interested in Europe, and especially eastern Europe. Abdarraḥman III had at his disposal reliable information about what was going on at the German royal court, in Otto's kingdom and vicinity, as some contemporary texts show:

'I will readily concede your arguments, except one matter in which he [king Otto I, pch] has demonstrated imprudence'. 'Which one is that?' asked John. 'He does not keep his power only for himself, and he tolerates in some of his people such a high use of their own authority that he even shares with them parts of his kingdom, believing that this will render them more faithful and submissive that way. In this, however, he will not succeed, because haughtiness and rebellion are born, and grow against him, as has just happened with his son-in-law, who abducted his sons by felony, used his own power publicly against him, having introduced for this reason a foreign people, the Hungarians, who devastated the heart of his kingdom.'

Part of a conversation between John, abbot of Gorze, and Abdarraḥman III, caliph of Cordoba (912–961), from the *Vita* of John, abbot of Gorze (+ 974). The conversation took place in Cordoba in 956, and was put down in writing around 978 (Pariſse 1996, 40).

The reasons behind Ibrahim's journey are not entirely clear. Ibrahim visited the court of Otto I, and held some conversations with the king. He therefore acted as a diplomat; the exchange of embassies was by no means a rarity in Andalusian-Christian relations. His trade interests

¹¹¹ On him see Třeščík 1992, Charvát-Prosecký 1996, Mishin 1996, Mishin 1998, Nazmi 1998 and Zaborski 2008, as well as Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 150–169.

may mean that he was a commercial envoy – although in his time, most of the *Saqaliba* slaves must already have been settled in al-Andalus, and are thus unlikely to have constituted the main target of his interest. Finally, let us not forget that he might have gone to eastern Europe as an intelligence officer, collecting information considered useful and unavailable up till that time. At any rate, Ibrahim's journey took place with the official consent, and at the financial expense, of the caliphal administration¹¹².

There are difficulties around putting a date to Ibrahim's voyage. If he negotiated with King Otto at Magdeburg in Saxony, this could only have happened in 965 when the suzerain stayed there. Another fragment of his text mentions Rome as the place where the encounter with Otto occurred. That would point to a date in 961 or 962. Did Ibrahim visit Europe twice, or did he even live there for a certain time? (Fig. 42)

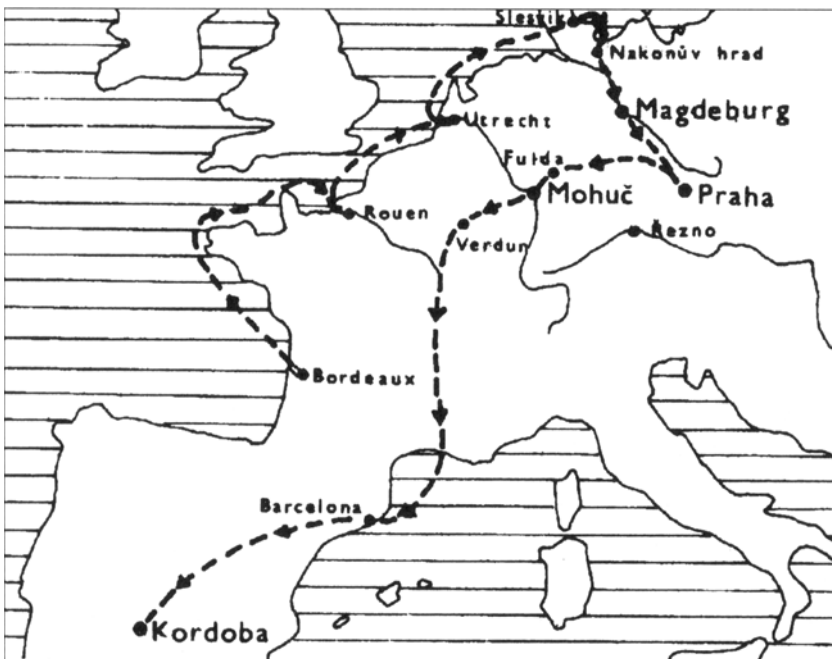


Figure 42: The assumed route of Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub's voyage through Europe (Třeštík 1992, 11).

¹¹² A lot of interesting information about the financing of such voyages by the Andalusian government may be found in Kaplony 1996.

Ibrahim is likely to have boarded a ship somewhere in southwestern France, most probably in Gascony (Bordeaux?). Surviving excerpts of his work include descriptions of Rouen (Normandy), Schleswig (or rather Hedeby or Haithabu, Jylland), Fulda (Frankland) and Mainz (the Rhineland). This makes it probable that Ibrahim's ship took a route along the Atlantic coast of Europe, stopping at Rouen and crossing the Jutland where it was narrowest at the famous commercial city of Schleswig = Hedeby. Disembarking somewhere on the Slav-inhabited coast of the Baltic sea, Ibrahim then crossed the realms of a Slav prince named Nakon¹¹³, clearly intending to go to Magdeburg on the Elbe river in Saxony. From there, presumably after fulfilling the task entrusted to him by his caliph, he took the southeastern route to Prague, probably traveling along the Elbe/Labe and Vltava rivers. Following a brief stay in Prague, he made the return journey. The sites which he described in his report outline a route through present-day central Germany linking Fulda¹¹⁴ and Mainz as far as the Rhineland. From there, Ibrahim could head southwards towards Verdun, Lyons and Marseilles. There, he could terminate his long and tedious journey by a sea passage to one of the Andalusian ports, and go on to Cordoba.

Ibrahim wrote a full report of his journey for the Cordoba caliphal administration which has, however, succumbed to the ravages of time. The report itself seems to have had a history. An anonymous caliphal official extracted the most important information it contained and used it to compile an administrative manual, the character of which is presently unknown. Other excerpts from Ibrahim's texts have turned up in the *oeuvres* of al-Udhri and al-Bekri (eleventh-century), al-Qazvini (thirteenth-century) and al-Himyari (fourteenth-century)¹¹⁵.

Ibrahim's data do have an aura of authenticity, and altogether it seems that he accomplished his mission with great diligence and care. He took notice of many things, and was evidently attentive even to the Slavic languages, some scraps of which are preserved in his text. Regarding the east European *milieu*, his report is priceless. He not only proved that the

¹¹³ On Nakon see Lübke, RGSEO I No. 92 pp. 127–128. A prince of the Obodriti 'tribe', Nakon probably died in 966.

¹¹⁴ For the find of a shard of Islamic lusterware from the habitation and economic section of the Fulda Abbey, see Ludovici 1994.

¹¹⁵ On all these works, and their relations to the Slav world, see Nazmi 1998, 33–46, and the Register.

land of Bohemia lay within the *orbis* of civilized lands where a cultivated Muslim gentleman could travel safely, but his visit to Prague is also an indirect, but very persuasive, argument for the presence of a Jewish community in this land since at least since the 960s. From this time onwards, Bohemia was a land of at least three languages, and two creeds. (Fig. 43)

Prague Receives a Bishopric (969–976)

As time went by, and the administration of the early state of Bohemia took deeper root and more coherent form under Boleslav I, the duke and his policy-makers could finally focus on a project that had been behind so many acts of the Bohemian dukes of the earlier tenth-century – the foundation of a bishopric in Prague. Boleslav was well aware of the political dimension of the adoption of ecumenical Christianity, and of creating the principal institutions to contain it. We have heard how one of the first missions to the Elbe Slavs at the beginning of the 960s received his support. Something of the same order happened when Dobrava (Doubravka), Boleslav's sister¹¹⁶, married Mieszko, duke of Poland (960? – 992), winning him and his people over to Christianity. A reference to the very first Christian bishop on Polish territory, in Poznan, follows after an interval of three years¹¹⁷. The establishment of this episcopal see in distant Poland hardly seems conceivable without substantial aid from the Bohemian clergy, and thus it was only a matter of time before it was decided that Prague also merited a bishopric.

Of course, many a stumbling block had to be overcome before the erection of an episcopal throne within the ramparts of Prague Castle. First and foremost, it required a number of sufficiently qualified clergy. We assume that the Regensburg bishopric, to which Prague belonged until the establishment of its own episcopal see, exercised some form of spiritual authority in Prague, and kept an arch-priest, or *archipresbyter*, with the necessary clerical staff there. We know of two instances when Duke Wenceslas addressed Tuto, the Regensburg bishop, directly: when

¹¹⁶ On Dobrava see Sommer-Třeštk-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 551. The wedding is traditionally dated to 966.

¹¹⁷ In December 968, Jordan, bishop of Poznan, assisted at the consecration of the first bishops of Merseburg, Meissen, Zeitz, Havelberg and Brandenburg at Magdeburg: Lübke, RGSEO I No. 152 pp. 213–214.

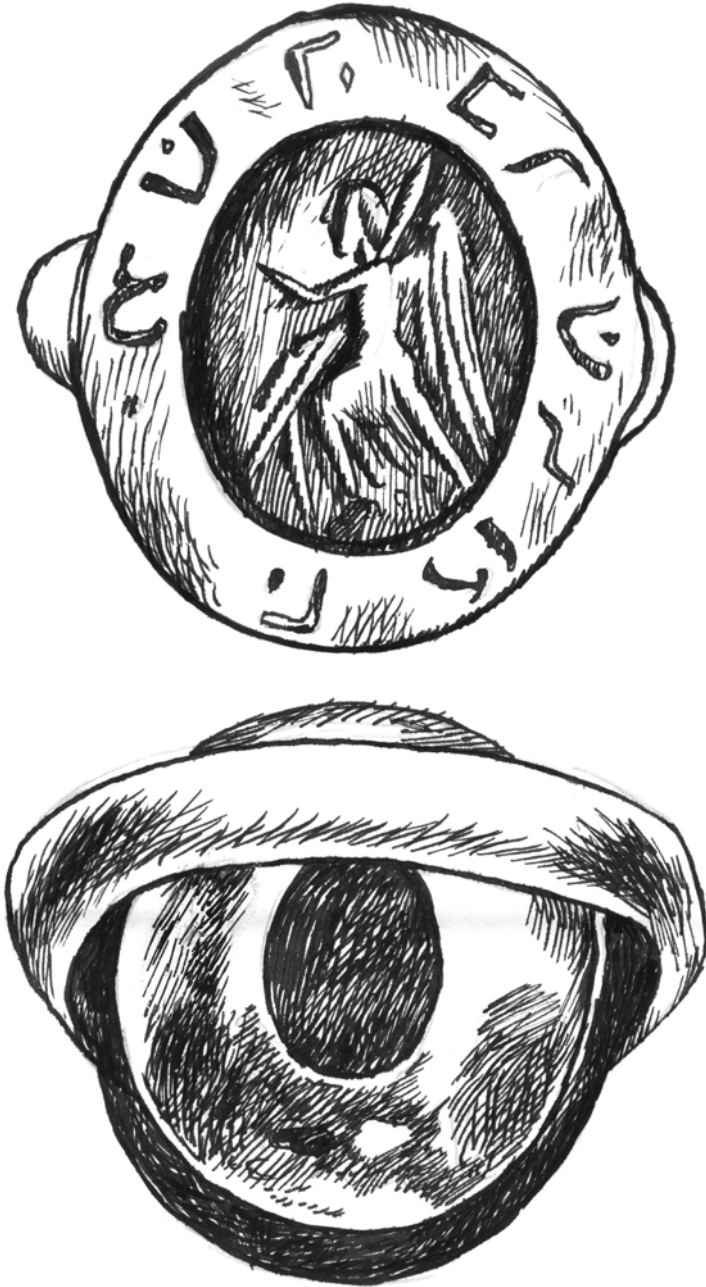


Figure 43. A gold ring bearing an image of the Roman goddess Victory, and with an inscription in Hebrew characters (*Moshe ben Shelomo*). Eleventh to thirteenth-century. Excavated at Praha 1, Náměstí-Republiky. Drawing by Věra Tydlitátová (after Zavřel-Žegklitz 2007, 7).

he decided to build St. Guy's church at Prague Castle¹¹⁸, and when he undertook the translation of the body of his martyred grandmother, St. Ludmila, from Tetín to Prague¹¹⁹. In both cases the Regensburg prelate did not seem particularly keen to assist Wenceslas in tasks which the duke obviously considered vital. How far this indicates a lukewarm attitude on the part of the Regensburg clergy resident at Prague Castle must remain unknown, although most of the ecclesiastical events of tenth-century Bohemia seem to have been initiated from within the country¹²⁰.

There are, however, suggestions that other factors may have been involved. Some important documents shed light on the long-disputed position of the Slavonic clergy in early Bohemia.

These include the so-called Kiev leaflets, a text of seven parchment leaves found at Kiev but presumably written in Moravia or Bohemia at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries¹²¹. Specialists have not quite decided what the Kiev leaflets are, but the opinion prevalent now sees in them remains of a *libellus missae*, a manual for episcopal use supplying texts for all the ceremonies performed by a bishop.

This presents us with a problem, however. What does a Slavonic-rite bishop do in early tenth-century Bohemia? Where, and how does he live, and how does he attend to his office? Nor is this the only text of its kind. The Prague Glagolitic fragments of the early eleventh-century contain a ritual calendar, texts attached to moveable and immoveable liturgical feasts, an *officium* on Holy Trinity day and church hymns¹²². Such texts could well serve in a monastic *milieu*, but a third item – the penitential, or communion manual, to which we have already referred – is definitely a text designed for use by secular clergy in pastoral care.

Some aspects of ecclesiastical life in tenth-century Bohemia apparently did not find their way into official documents written in Latin. We remain unenlightened with respect to questions of early ecclesiastical administration in Bohemia. However, when Pope John XIII issued a charter granting the foundation of a bishopric in Prague in 967 with the expressed proviso that this would not happen 'according to the rites of the Bulgarian sect', he probably knew very well what he was

¹¹⁸ The *Christianus* text: Ludvíkovský 1978, 62–63.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 52–53.

¹²⁰ The context for all these events may be found in Wiczorek-Hinz 2000.

¹²¹ Wiczorek-Hinz 2000, Katalog, 238.

¹²² Wiczorek-Hinz 2000, Katalog, 278.

referring to¹²³. Christian clergy of the Slavonic rite were evidently not considered unusual in tenth-century Bohemia.

Let us note *en passant* that the ancients themselves saw no harm in the use of Church Slavonic, which they gave up as time went by and other customs and manners prevailed. Florin Curta has pointed to one of the earliest Glagolitic inscriptions found in Croatia, on the eleventh-century (*sic!*) Valun tablet from the island of Cres. The tombstone of a family grave which holds the remains of three generations, it refers to Tela (grandmother), Bratohna (her son) and Junna (her grandson). The reference to Tela is inscribed in Slavonic written in Glagolitic letters, while Bratohna and Junna are commemorated with Latin inscriptions¹²⁴.

Once the bishopric-to-be had (perhaps) sufficient staff at its disposal, problems of the political order had to be dealt with. Here the long-term friendly relations between Boleslav and Otto bore fruit, as the initiative to establish the Prague episcopal seat fell within Otto's grand design to establish a series of ecclesiastical institutions along the empire's eastern border, both as supports of imperial policy and as departure points for Christian missions. Converting adjacent Slav population groups, these would have rendered them more susceptible to imperial influences, or, at the very least, made them partners who negotiated using the same language and scale of values.

Otto's strategy had roots in the now distant past. As early as 931–933, Bishop Adalwald of Werden in Hannoverland converted Slavs to Christianity¹²⁵. In September of 937, the St. Maurice Abbey at Magdeburg was built. This regular house, perhaps founded to prepare missionaries for tasks beyond the imperial frontier, received its first group of monks from St. Maximin's Abbey at Trier in the Rhineland¹²⁶. The same year witnessed the first mission campaign by Friedrich, archbishop of Mainz, who went to preach the Gospel to pagans and Jews¹²⁷.

This grand design soon ran into problems, however. First and foremost, it met with stark opposition from Michael, bishop of Regensburg (in office in 940 or 944–972), a valiant warrior who had fought at Lech

¹²³ On this see Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 259 with fn. 41.

¹²⁴ Curta 2006b, 264.

¹²⁵ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 34 p. 52.

¹²⁶ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 51 pp. 72–73.

¹²⁷ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 59 p. 83. A papal chart of Leo VII names Friedrich as *vicarius et missus apostolicus...in totius Germaniae*, thus a successor to Drogo of Metz.

but was also a vigilant guardian of his own rights and those of his family.

The attitude of Wilhelm, archbishop of Mainz (954–968), presented a more serious obstacle. In what might be seen as one of the history's cruel jokes, Otto's design met with resistance from his own son. As a young prince, he had fathered the future archbishop during a passionate affair with an unnamed lady, presumably of the Stodorani-Havolani 'tribe', at the court of his father, Henry the Fowler. This must have happened in the early months of the year 930, since later in the same year, Henry gave his son Otto the English Princess Eadith as consort¹²⁸. After their marriage, Wilhelm's mother found refuge in a monastery, perhaps at Möllenbeck, the necrology of which recorded the death of Tugumir, a prince of the same 'tribe' and presumably her relative¹²⁹. Otto's early love affair had two results: in addition to a handsome and talented son, he mastered the Slavic language, albeit, as the chroniclers say, he used it rarely.

Wilhelm resolutely opposed his father's plans to establish mission archbishoprics along the eastern Frankish border. In 955, he issued a special charter to that effect, insisting that if this came about, he would divest himself of his office and go and preach to the pagans¹³⁰. Gradually, however, Otto succeeded in mollifying Wilhelm's rather severe resistance. In 961, he entrusted the archbishop with the spiritual administration of the city of Magdeburg. Wilhelm took his task seriously, and even sent Adalbert, a monk of St. Maximin's regular house at Trier, to preach to the Russians¹³¹. This was not particularly successful, however: Adalbert barely managed to escape to the West with his life¹³².

His father's persistent efforts ultimately reconciled the prelate, and the archbishopric of Magdeburg and the bishopric of Merseburg were founded on February 12th, 962¹³³.

Otto finally saw his strategy come to fruition when resolutions were concluded at the synod in Ravenna, Italy, on April 20th, 967. The newly established Magdeburg archbishopric received five suffragan bishoprics – Brandenburg, Havelberg, Merseburg, Zeitz and Meissen – with the

¹²⁸ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 32 pp. 50–51.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁰ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 103 pp. 139–140. He was then acting in his capacity of *vicarius missus in partibus Galliae et Germaniae*, much as Friedrich before him.

¹³¹ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 115 pp. 154–155.

¹³² Lübke, RGSEO I No. 120a pp. 165–166.

¹³³ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 121 pp. 167–168.

proviso that other episcopal sees be founded in the future at 'opportune places'¹³⁴. The Roman pope's friendliness towards Otto is clearly reflected in the confirmation of the property of the St. John monastery at Meissen of January 2nd, 968¹³⁵. The entire undertaking was completed in December 968 at Magdeburg, when five bishops accepted holy unction to their offices¹³⁶.

The great offensive having succeeded, the time was coming for Prague's elevation. The last obstacle fell when consent was given to the establishment of the Prague bishopric by Bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg (972–994), the future Saint Wolfgang of Augsburg and a most interesting character. He was born in the year 924 somewhere in northern Swabia (present-day southwest Germany). At the age of ten, he became a pupil at the monastic school of the Reichenau abbey on the Bodensee, and later continued his education at the cathedral center of Würzburg. In 956 he took over the direction of a brand-new school at Trier, in the Rhineland. In the 960s, Emperor Otto offered him the archiepiscopal throne of Trier, but Wolfgang declined this dignity, and instead took monastic vows in the ancient Benedictine abbey of Einsiedeln in present-day Switzerland, where he received priestly unction in 968 at the age of forty-three. In 971 he undertook a Christianization campaign to Hungary but, ordered to return, was invested with the episcopal throne of Regensburg in the following year. Serving his new hosts well, he carefully attended to all his pastoral duties, and established a cathedral school with a choir at Regensburg. He might therefore be rightly seen as one of the fathers of Bohemian education, since most of the first Bohemian men of letters of the Latin culture passed through the Regensburg cathedral or monastic schools.

Boleslav of Bohemia naturally found a place in Otto's grand design. Sometime between 965 and 967, a Bohemian embassy headed by Mlada, the duke's sister, traveled to Rome. The experiment of sending a woman to negotiate with one of the ecumenical Church's foremost prelates worked well, and the lady received from John XIII (965–972) not only a foundation charter for the new bishopric, but also consent to the

¹³⁴ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 142 pp. 196–197. Such *loca opportuna* could possibly mean Poznan and Prague.

¹³⁵ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 145 pp. 202–204.

¹³⁶ Lübke, RGSEO I No. 152 pp. 213–214. They were Boso of Merseburg, Burchard of Meissen, Hugo of Zeitz, Dudo of Havelberg (in residence since 948) and Dodilo of Brandenburg (in residence since 948).

establishment of Bohemia's very first Christian regular house, that of Benedictine nuns by St. George's church at Prague Castle. Upon returning home after the successful completion of her mission, Mlada, as Marie, took the veil, and the dignity of abbess, at the new house by St. George. She still occupied this office in 983, and tradition puts the year of her death at 994¹³⁷.

The timing of the Prague mission to Rome clearly shows coordination with Emperor Otto's activities. Pope John XIII went to great lengths to make the emperor comfortable, and whenever Otto expressed a wish, John was only too happy to grant it. In 967, at Otto's request, the pope made his young eponymous son a Roman emperor. A year later, in spite of the attitude of the archbishop of Mainz, the pope found persuasive enough reasons to approve the establishment of the Magdeburg archbishopric. Then, in 972, the papal see was instrumental in negotiating a marriage between Prince Otto, heir apparent to the empire, and Theofanu, a Byzantine princess of imperial blood.

Pope John XIII had a further significant influence on the history of east-central Europe. In 970, he invited a young man who had come to Rome in the company of Borrell, count of Barcelona, to stay at his court. Deeply impressed by his great learning and culture, the pope persuaded the visitor not to return to Catalunya, but to offer his services to Emperor Otto. The young man promptly did so, and this was the beginning of the career of Gerbert of Aurillac, who was to assume the papal throne under the name of Sylvester II (999–1003), and who was to declare Adalbert, second bishop of Prague, a saint of the Roman church.

The dignity of first bishop of Prague fell to Thietmar, originally a monk of the Saxon regular house of Corvey (*Corbeia Nova*) on the Weser river west of the present-day city of Göttingen. He was familiar with Prague from previous visits, during which he merited the attention of Duke Boleslav, not least because he was fluent in the Slavic language. As a *protege* of the duke, he had no difficulties in putting forward his candidature for the new episcopal throne, or in being smoothly elected to this dignity. However, he could not assume his new office until after the turbulent events that followed the death of both Boleslav I (972) and Otto I (973), when Boleslav II, son and successor of Boleslav I, became embroiled in wars of succession within the empire. It was not until the end of 975 that Thietmar could travel to Otto II's court with

¹³⁷ Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 551.

Boleslav II's letter of recommendation. The emperor conferred the insignia of his episcopal office – a finger-ring and a staff of office – without further delay, and there were no more obstacles to the consecration of the new bishop. This act took place sometime between January 3rd and January 16th, 976, at Brumpt in Alsace, the officiant priests being Thietmar's immediate superior, Willigis, archbishop of Mainz, assisted by Erkenbald, bishop of Strasbourg. Thietmar remained in the Rhineland until at least April, and only then set out on the journey to assume his new official seat. He most probably spent his years in office laying the foundations of the liturgical and practical apparatus to establish the new bishopric. He died on January 2nd, 982, and, during his last days, is reported to have sorely regretted his laxity in the pastoral care of the souls entrusted to him, and in turning Bohemian souls away from paganism.

The custom of the period was that the new bishopric be provided with a foundation charter. This does seem to have happened, and while the original text has not survived, the essentials of its contents found their way into the confirmation charter issued by Emperor Henry IV on April 20th, 1086, describing the extent of the bishopric and its frontiers. The range of the territories entrusted to the care of the Prague bishops is assumed to equal the set of lands belonging to the state of Boleslav I, including Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lesser Poland, the western part of what was then Hungary (the Waag region) and its northern frontier including the Vysoké-Tatry mountains and the Bug and Styr rivers¹³⁸.

*Boleslav II (972–999)*¹³⁹

Some time ago, I wrote a biography of this Bohemian duke, son and successor of Boleslav I¹⁴⁰. I will now give a short summary of the essential facts.

The first years of the younger Boleslav's life were bathed in the glory ensuing from his illustrious father's deeds. At the very beginning of his rule, Prague acquired what most tenth-century Bohemian dukes strove for – a bishopric, soon not only shining with ecclesiastical splendor, but proudly ushering in a series of the very first literary works by Bohemian

¹³⁸ See most recently Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 170–219.

¹³⁹ Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 551.

¹⁴⁰ Charvát 2004; most recently see Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 251–282, 329–355.

authors. In fact, this was the first 'Golden Age' of Bohemian literature. Experienced diplomats and seasoned warriors of the Prague court helped Boleslav to deal with the crisis that followed the death of the great Otto I (973–976), limiting its consequences for the unity and welfare of the country.

Times were changing, however, and the political accord between the Bohemian duke and the German king and emperor was showing signs of strain. This is especially apparent in the case of the second political crisis that befell the empire after the sudden death of Otto II. This sovereign died in Rome, in the month of December 983, of a disease he caught during a flight from the battlefield at Cap Colonne in Italy, where the imperial armies successfully repelled an attempt at an offensive by the then Muslim overlord of Sicily, Ali of the Kalbid dynasty¹⁴¹.

Otto II left behind a son, also named Otto, who was just three years old in 983. Despite his young age, the infant Otto received imperial unction at Aachen on December 25th, 983. At this juncture, Henry the Quarrelsome, duke of Bavaria and cousin of Otto II, who had previously tried – and failed – to assume the imperial dignity on the death of Otto I, stepped in. Having become guardian of the infant King Otto, Henry did all that he could to present himself as the best candidate for the imperial throne. His intentions were thwarted by two people. Most of the ecclesiastical and lay magnates of the western empire remained loyal to the Saxon dynasty thanks to the unceasing propaganda of Gerbert of Aurillac, by then the archbishop of Rheims, who acted on behalf of Empress Adelheid, consort of Otto I, and dowager Empress Theofano, widow of Otto II. Although Henry was elected king on March 23rd, 984, he never made it to the imperial throne and, when Theofano traveled to Germany in May of 984, Henry had to entrust the infant Otto to the care of his mother.

Much as in 974–977, Boleslav II of Bohemia supported Henry against the imperial party, and, much as earlier, his candidate failed to succeed. This was in stark contrast to the mutual support and trust displayed between Boleslav I and Otto I, and must have given an unfavorable impression of the Bohemian duke in the politically important circles of imperial administration.

As well as having presented himself as 'turncoat and traitor' to the empire, Boleslav II met with some rough times at home. Having subjected

¹⁴¹ See Lübke, RGSEO I No. 215a pp. 307–308.

considerable territories of central Europe to its influence and power, the early state of Bohemia now encountered difficulties retaining its conquests. In particular, this involved the assertion of Bohemian strength in the face of two new political powers that were emerging in the lands on Labe/Elbe, Odra, Vistula and the Danube; Poland and Hungary. The original *entente cordiale* with Poland collapsed after the death of Doubravka, consort of Mieszko I of Poland, and sister of Boleslav II of Bohemia, in 977. Sometime after 990, the young Polish state's troops occupied most of the lands that had once acknowledged Bohemian suzerainty north of the Krkonoše, Jeseníky and Beskydy mountains¹⁴². The 'soft underbelly' of the Bohemian state, Moravia, together perhaps with what is now southwestern Slovakia, seems to have fallen under the power of the then nascent state of Hungary.

All this is likely to have resulted in economic difficulties when the once abundant sources of booty, tribute and all sorts of obligatory payment suddenly dried up. Having lost a considerable amount of revenue, the Bohemian duke was no longer a welcome guest at the imperial court; as we have seen, he had proved himself to be most unreliable in his support of his liege, the king and emperor of Germany.

Fate was indeed unkind to Boleslav II, son of a father who had been so prominent in the history of the land. In addition to political failures, the duke's own family life was hardly a consolation to him. We know virtually nothing about Boleslav's consort or consorts, but the sons that he fathered (we know nothing of daughters) brought him no particular joy. The duke's firstborn son, named Václav (Wenceslas), died before his father. The eldest surviving son, also named Boleslav (the future Boleslav III)¹⁴³, soon proved to be an abhorrent, unpredictable creature capable of anything, full of whims, sometimes slavishly obedient, sometimes cruel or even downright sadistic. Another son, Jaromír¹⁴⁴, seems to have inherited some of his father's military talents; politically, he was a disaster. Oldřich, the youngest son (as far as we know)¹⁴⁵, may be best described as a cold-blooded egoist and opportunist who showed no scruples in choosing ways and means to assert his superiority. Never revealing the true nature of his designs and schemes, he did not shirk from the wholesale slaughter of his political opponents, if he deemed it expedient.

¹⁴² See most recently Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 240–251, 282–329.

¹⁴³ Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 553.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

of the site of Libice-nad-Cidlinou, died in 981¹⁴⁶. He left behind seven sons whom he had fathered with at least two women, including the future saint, Vojtěch or Adalbert. Slavník's son Soběslav (or Soběbor) assumed the position of family leader of Slavník's descendants.¹⁴⁷ Unlike his father, who had pursued a conciliatory policy towards Prague, Soběslav demonstrated clear confrontational tendencies, and, presumably after the episcopal election of his brother Vojtěch, appropriated the privilege of striking coins which had previously been the monopoly of the Prague court. Both the economic and the symbolic meaning of the Soběslav (cum-Vojtěch) coinage have undergone a recent re-examination¹⁴⁸, but the very fact that a non-suzerain family claimed a privilege otherwise reserved for ecclesiastical or secular princes clearly shows Soběslav's ambitions. Ultimately, probably in 995, the Prague and Libice warriors came into conflict. Soběslav took his grudge against Prague before the emperor himself, but it was too late. On September 27th and 28th 995, a 'commando raid' from Prague hit Libice-nad-Cidlinou, where all Slavník's sons who were present lost their lives. Now only three of them remained. Soběslav, who then took part in an imperial expedition against the heathen Slavs, went to Poland and later fell in a battle between Polish troops retreating from Prague Castle and an imperial-cum-Bohemian expeditionary force (1004). Radim, another of Slavník's sons, assumed a Church dignity and died archbishop of Polish Gniezno, also in 1004. The third, and most famous of Slavník's sons, was none other than St. Vojtěch, or Adalbert, of Prague. Let us now hear about him.

Duke Boleslav II was to be bitterly disappointed in his support of the land's foremost ecclesiastical official, Vojtěch or Adalbert, second bishop of Prague. Vojtěch, one of the seven sons of Slavník, a *dominus terrae*, resident in east-central Bohemia at Libice-nad-Cidlinou by the present town of Poděbrady, was probably born in the 950s, maybe as early as 952, but more likely in 956. As a youth, Vojtěch traveled to the Saxon city of Magdeburg, where he studied the liberal arts (probably between 971 and 980) under the guidance of the learned Ohtrich, famous for his disputation with Gerbert of Aurillac¹⁴⁹ in Ravenna. After his return to

¹⁴⁶ On Slavník see most recently Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 66–72, 138–141.

¹⁴⁷ See Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 338–352.

¹⁴⁸ Petráň 1998; Petráň 2006.

¹⁴⁹ There remains at least one piece of evidence present at Magdeburg since the late 960s, which may have been seen by the young Vojtěch/Adalbert. An *antependium*, or

Bohemia, Vojtěch, who, upon confirmation, had received his other name Adalbert, served with the group of clerics at the church of St. Guy in Prague.

Following the death of Thietmar, the first bishop of Prague, Vojtěch was elected his successor in February 982 at the site of Levý-Hradec north of Prague. He received the insignia of his office from Otto II at the imperial assembly in Italian Verona, which he attended in 983. Being very serious about his ecclesiastical vocation, Vojtěch soon made himself unpopular by accusing the Prague court of moral decay, criticizing the sale of Christian slaves to non-Christians, unstable marriage arrangements, the frequent practice of polygyny and also *confusa religio* (whatever that means).

In 988 or 989, things had progressed so far that the bishop decided to leave his flock and go to Rome. After apparently heading for Naples with the intention of embarking on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Vojtěch passed through a rather complicated series of events including a short stay at Monte Cassino, before landing at the SS. *Alessio e Bonifazio* monastery at the Aventine hill in Rome, where he probably sojourned in 990–992. Having been established shortly before in 977, SS. *Alessio e Bonifazio* was a Benedictine house of prayer and meditation but also a lively social center, where the remains of many a distinguished Roman citizen found a burial place.

In 992, a Bohemian embassy came to Rome in search of Vojtěch, as Volkold, the bishop of Meissen who had taken on Vojtěch's episcopal duties in Prague when it was necessary, had recently died. Also, a famine that struck large parts of Europe in that year may have been interpreted as a sign of God's wrath at the disobedience of the Bohemians towards their bishop. Vojtěch duly returned home and, with Boleslav's support, tried to introduce at least some measures to support the young church of Bohemia, including church building and the collection of tithes. The Bohemians did show some willingness to listen to their bishop's

reventment of the front side of an altar donated to the Magdeburg cathedral by Otto I, contained a set of four ivory carvings done in the openwork technique and inlaid with gold. Probably damaged in 995, this screen was dismantled and, in the period of Archbishop Engilhard (1052–1063), the individual carvings were set on the binding of the Codex Wittekindeus, written at Fulda between 970 and 980. In addition, the archbishop decorated the binding with likenesses of SS. Johannes, Dionysius, Paulus, Petrus, Kilianus, Blasius, Mauritius and the Virgin Mary. The codex is presently in Berlin (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. Lat. fol. 1) (Vor dem Jahr 1000, No. 16, p. 74).

admonitions, and it is known that the citizens of Prague at least humbly accepted the prohibition to brew beer for sale as punishment for their dissolute manners. Between 992 and 994, Vojtěch threw himself into hectic activity, preaching, teaching, writing and undertaking organizational measures to support the Bohemian church.

All of this ultimately came to nothing, however, as the bishop left his country for a second time in 994 and never returned. Legendary texts describe in detail the event that prompted Vojtěch to leave his flock for good. A lady of rank had apparently sinned with a priest, and, having been accused by her husband's relatives, took refuge within one of the churches of Prague Castle (probably St. George). The furious relatives demanded her extradition but Vojtěch insisted that she be given the privilege of Church asylum. Disregarding the bishop's resistance, the mob dragged the lady from her refuge and capital punishment was instantly executed. In the course of this incursion, some of the mob went so far as to threaten Vojtěch and his lineage, should he try to prevent them from inflicting the death penalty.

Having again set out for Rome, the bishop resumed his seat at SS. *Alessio e Bonifazio*. In May of 996, however, his presence became known to Emperor Otto III, who was then living at the monastery himself, and thus also to Willigis, archbishop of Mainz and Vojtěch's ecclesiastical superior. Reprimanded for the repeated desertion of his flock, Vojtěch asked for two things: first, that an embassy be sent to Bohemia to ask his people whether they wanted him back as bishop, and second, that should the Bohemians say no, he be granted papal permission to go and preach the Gospel to heathens.

The bishop then crossed the Alps in the company of Notker, bishop of Luik/Liege in present-day Belgium, probably to await the return of the embassy from Bohemia at Aachen. In the meantime, he decided to seek consolation and advice in a pilgrimage to the founding fathers of Latin monasticism. This brought him, *via* the shrine of St. Denis near Paris, to the tombs of St. Martin at Tours, and of St. Benedict at Fleury, or Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, where St. Benedict's body was then believed to have rested, and to the sepulcher of one of St. Benedict's first disciples, St. Maur, situated north of Paris on the river Seine. Back at Aachen, Vojtěch received a negative answer from his unruly Bohemian flock. Consequently, having parted with Otto III (on whom he is reported to have made a lasting impression), Vojtěch went to Gniezno, residence of the Polish ruler Boleslav the Valiant, and from there to the Baltic sea coast where he tried to preach the Gospel to heathen Prussians.

On April 23rd, 997, the Prague bishop suffered a martyrdom at their hands.

In the meantime, Boleslav II grew old, weak and ‘withered like straw cut in the morning’. Some of this decline may be attributed to an unidentified disease which he suffered from in the 990s. In the fateful September of 995, when Prague warriors stormed Libice-nad-Cidlinou, pillaged and burned the castle and killed all the sons of Slavník that they found there, the duke might have been incapacitated by this illness. After that, he seems to have been a mere shadow of his former self, pre-occupied above all with the embellishment of St. George’s church at Prague Castle where he apparently chose to be buried. And when death came on February 7th, 999, we may well imagine that, in the vein of a dictum attributed to Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria, one of his last thoughts might have been: ‘Uns aber blieb wirklich nichts verschönt...’

Lady Emma – Princess of Italy, Queen of France, Duchess of Bohemia

Boleslav II’s last days are likely to have been alleviated by the friendship and support of his third (?) consort, Emma¹⁵⁰. This most interesting personage has recently received attention from the historians of Bohemia, many of whom have adopted the identification of this lady with an eponymous Italian princess and French queen (* 948, 949 or 950)¹⁵¹.

Emma was born in Pavia, Italy, to a family of illustrious origins. Adelheid, her mother and daughter of Rudolph II, king of Burgundy, was a descendant of Charlemagne himself. Lothario, her father, was a son of Hugh of Arles or Provence, elected king of Italy (926–947). Lothario actually came to wear the Italian royal crown, and Adelheid thus became a lawful queen of Italy. That Emma was born heiress to this title soon presented her mother and herself with difficulties. Lothario, father of the infant princess, died in 950 (rumor had it that he was poisoned). At this point, Adelheid became the target of rather heavy-handed manipulations by Berengario, Marquis of Ivrea. When his attempt to make her marry his son Adalberto failed, he tried to force Adelheid to enter a monastery, and it seems that he even had her hair cut with this purpose in mind. But Adelheid refused to comply with his designs, and in 951, Berengario ordered her confinement in a castle by the Lago di

¹⁵⁰ Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 551.

¹⁵¹ See Panzarasa 2001, and Polanský 2001.

Garda. The escape of the young queen – presumably with her baby daughter – from this prison did not lack drama: leaving the castle by means of a tunnel that her faithful followers had dug in secret, she boarded a ship and crossed the stormy lake into safety.

Soon after this, the fate of the royal mother and daughter took an unexpected turn. Otto I, elect king of Germany, of whom we have already heard a good deal, had long since realized the need to put the Italian political situation into some kind of order. In the autumn of 951, he arrived in Italy with a large army detachment. Berengario of Ivrea promptly evacuated the city of Pavia and took refuge elsewhere. Otto and his troops entered Pavia in triumph, and the king, adopting the title *rex Francorum et Italicorum*, proceeded to ask Adelheid to marry him (Edith, his former consort, had died in 950). Adelheid evidently did not hesitate, and the royal couple celebrated their wedding in Pavia in 952. Accompanied by her daughter, the new queen of Germany followed her husband to their new homeland across the Alps. Emma thus grew up in a bilingual *milieu*, a fact which would serve her well in the future.

Both Adelheid and Emma are likely to have accompanied Otto on his voyage to Rome, where he received the crown of the empire in 962.

Emma herself launched her political career in the 960s, when she married Lothaire IV, king of France (* 941, king in 954–986), son of King Louis IV d'Outremer and Queen Gerbirg, Otto I's sister.

Information about Emma's rule as queen is scant. In 980–985, a hoard of coins was buried at the site of Fécamp, Normandy. A group of coins from this hoard bear the image of a cross on one side and a device consisting of two parallel lines together with the Greek letters A and Ω on the other. These coins display the enigmatic and probably corrupt legend ENMAPEIONA, and they could thus have been struck for Lothaire by Emma, his consort (the assumed correct text being * EMMA REGINA)¹⁵².

Queen Emma entered a turbulent period of her life after her husband's death on March 2nd 986. At first, she directed the affairs of the kingdom in accord with her son, King Louis V (986–987), and together with him, accepted an oath of fidelity of the French estates. Gradually, however, mother and son became estranged and Louis tried to confine Emma's activities to the private sphere. In league with his uncle, Charles, duke of Lorraine and the last Carolingian ruler of the western Frankish

¹⁵² On these see also Dufour 1998, 920–921, noticing the exceptional character of this issue.

kingdom, he even went so far as to bring an accusation of adultery with Adalberon, bishop of Laon, against her. Louis's premature death only aggravated the crisis. An assembly of the French nobility, who congregated with the intention of finding a successor to King Louis V, omitted Charles of Lorraine in favor of Hugh Capet, who, though not of royal blood, had gained much respect and popularity by virtue of his political skill. This brought Charles to a state of frenzy, and in the summer of 988 he took the city of Laon by a surprise attack. Both Emma and Adalberon fell into his hands, and at this very moment, the sources for Emma's activities fall silent. The last trace of her is represented by a letter which she wrote to an anonymous priest, probably a member of her retinue, on January 10th, 989. She instructs him to be patient and keep his temper in the matter of Dijon Castle, and to wait until her arrival. She also asks him to deliver a sum of money to her residence, for which he will need transport boxes. The assumption, voiced earlier, that this is to be interpreted as evidence of the payment of ransom money to Charles of Lorraine for the dowager queen's liberty, seems credible.

For the only subsequent historical testimony concerning Emma, we have to turn to the necrology of the famous St. Denis monastery near Paris. This puts the death of *domna Emma regina* at November 2nd of an unknown year, and the form of the record implies that Emma's body did not rest within the abbey church.

The closing decades of the 10th-century are nonetheless the period when Emma, duchess of Bohemia, entered the scene illuminated by written sources. Cosmas the Chronicler noted that she was *genere nobilior* than her consort, Duke Boleslav II. In view of the fact that Boleslav was of the noblest blood in Bohemia, Emma must have come from the very top of European high society. It is from Cosmas that we know the year of Emma's death (1006), and even the words of her tomb inscription, composed in elegant Latin:

'Que fuit ut gemma, vilis iacet en cinis Hemma,
Dic, precor: 'Huic anime da venium, Domine'.'

Which, loosely translated, reads:

'Once like a gem, now dust only, Emma,
Please, say: 'Show mercy to this soul, oh Lord!'

A rather confused intellectual, Cosmas failed to note where exactly he had seen this epitaph, but it must clearly have been at Mělník, a castle and house of a chapter of canons, as Cosmas dedicated the first book of his chronicle to Severus, provost of the said chapter of canons. No other

tombstone inscriptions of coeval Bohemia can be reliably identified, and this monument therefore belongs to a very rare *genre* in this part of Europe. Similar compositions, on the other hand, are not uncommon in Latin western Europe¹⁵³. (Fig. 45)

Another type of evidence of Emma of Bohemia is represented by her coins: a series of imitations of Anglo-Saxon pennies struck for Ethelred the Unready (978–1016), bearing the relatively legible inscriptions ENMA REGINA and MELNIK CIVTAS. Here Emma bears the royal title, presumably because after the death of her consort Boleslav II (+ 999), she resumed her original rank because she no longer needed to take her husband's status into consideration. Numismatic specialists estimate the number of coins struck in Emma's name at thousands, and the dowager queen and duchess must thus have contributed to the economic well-being of the Bohemian state during the turbulent period at the beginning of the eleventh-century.

The most attention has been paid to the third source that throws light on Emma of Bohemia. This is the manuscript of a St. Wenceslas legend written by Gumpold, bishop of Mantua, at the instigation of Emperor Otto II (973–983), illuminated with scenes from the saint's life and now deposited at the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. The title page of the manuscript shows Saint Wenceslas wearing a martyr's crown conferred on him by God, and being revered by a lady of rank who performs a deep bow, *proskynesis*, before him. The dedicatory inscription names a commissioner of this manuscript as Emma, *venerabilis principissa*. This allows the assumption that the manuscript



Figure 45: A coin struck by Emma, dowager queen, at Mělník, Bohemia, before 1006 (Sláma 1988, 44 Fig. 17).

¹⁵³ Examples may be found, for instance, in Guyotjeannin-Pouille 1996.

originated during Boleslav II's lifetime. I suppose that Emma, one-time queen, could not tolerate her status being lowered by acceptance of the title *ducissa*. For this reason, she chose to bear the neutral suzerain title of *principissa*. (Fig. 46)



Figure 46: The title page of the Latin manuscript of a St. Wenceslas legend written by Gumpold, bishop of Mantua. The saint, crowned by God, is revered by Emma, *principissa Bohemie*, who performs a deep bow (*proskynesis*) before him. Probably between 990 and 999. Wolfenbüttel (Germany), Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 11.2., Aug., f. 18 v. (Polanský 2001, 43–44).

Let us now further consider the title page of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript. Emma, queen of France, had once possessed her own psalter, originally deposited in the library of the Saint-Rémi Abbey at Rheims in France. Unfortunately, the original manuscript was burned in a fire in the library in 1774. Prior to this, however, an unknown engraver had copied some pages from it, including a full-page illumination illustrating psalm 66, at the instigation of the venerable Dom Jean Mabillon. Here we see God in Heaven, conferring royal crowns on the heads of two ruler figures, most probably Lothaire and Emma. The crowned figure behind Lothaire could be Louis V, Lothaire's son, while the image of a boy beside Emma may depict Lothaire's and Emma's son Otto, who died at an early age. A specialist's interpretation sees the distinctly triumphal symbolism of psalm 66 as an argument for the assumption that the book was finished on the occasion of Lothaire's coronation, which is supposed to have taken place at Compiègne in 979 or 986. This, in turn, would indicate the date of the psalter manuscript. Its origin is sought in one of the scriptoria of present-day northeastern France, perhaps in Rheims itself or Laon¹⁵⁴.

The compositional principle, on which the title page of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript and the illumination of Queen Emma's psalter are built, implies that both manuscripts were produced by the same workshop, and may indicate that they were commissioned by the same personage. This is another indication in favor of the hypothesis that Emma of France can be identified as Emma of Bohemia. (Fig. 47)

Another art work has recently entered the scope of historical sources relevant to Emma. Charles T. Little, curator of the collection of European medieval art at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, has pointed to the unusual character of the coronation scene from Queen Emma's psalter. He found just two parallels in Western art, both of them ivory carvings. One is a bas-relief, most probably of southern Italian origin, showing Christ crowning the heads of Emperor Otto II and Theophano, his consort. The date of the carving derives from Otto's title *Imperator Romanorum*, as this title comes from the final years of the emperor's reign, 982–983. For us, an important clue is contained in the deep bow,

¹⁵⁴ Crivello 2001, 205–206, esp. in fn. 61 on p. 205. The engraving is reproduced on Fig. 15 between pp. 192 and 193. The same engraving shows a likeness of Emma's consort, Lothaire IV, king of France, of the first quarter of the twelfth century, once decorating, together with statues of Louis IV, Lothaire's father, and Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims (845–882), the chancel of the abbey church of St. Rémi. A head of this statue has survived until the present day.

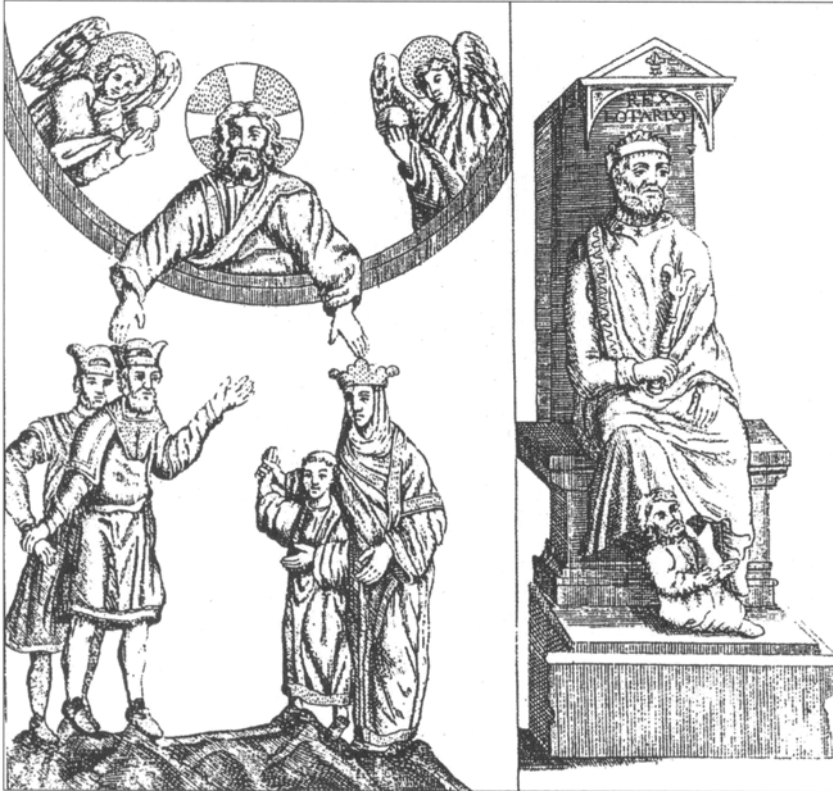


Figure 47: An engraved reproduction of the illustration to psalm 66 from the psalter that belonged to Emma, queen of France, originally deposited at the library of St. Remi, Rheims, France. Probably 979–986 (Crivello 2001, Fig. 15 between pp. 192 and 193).

proskynesis, of a tiny figure crouching under the dais on which Otto stands. This most probably depicts John Philagathos, originally Otto's Italian secretary and tutor of his infant son Otto, then *protege* of the dowager Empress Theofano, administrator of the kingdom of Italy, anti-papist (Pope John XVI., 997–998) and ultimately a mutilated prisoner. John's posture clearly corresponds with the position in which the illuminator of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript depicted Princess Emma¹⁵⁵. (Fig. 48)

¹⁵⁵ Little 1997.

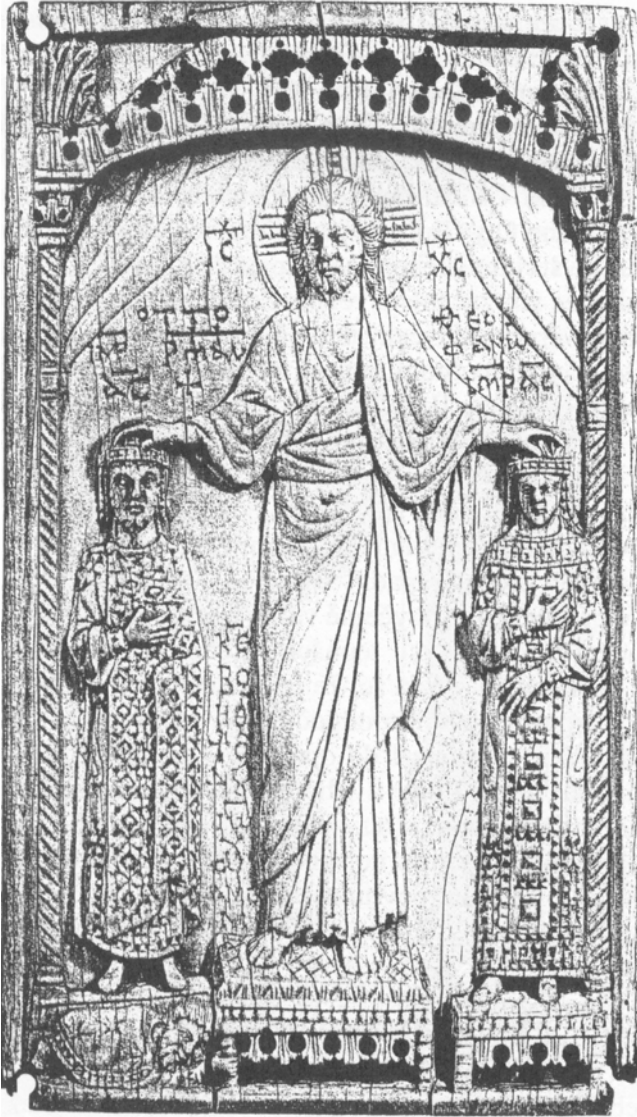


Figure 48: An ivory carving depicting Christ crowning Emperor Otto II and his consort, Theophano. A tiny figure is shown in a deep *proskynesis* at the feet of the emperor. Probably 982–983, Musée National du Moyen Age et des Thermes de l’Hôtel de Cluny, Paris, Cl. 392 (Little 1997, 500).

After the death of Boleslav II, Emma, now widow for a second time, took up residence at her estate at Mělník Castle. Although removed from public life, she nevertheless tried to contribute to the fortunes of

her previous homeland: with the Prague mints presumably out of operation due to the duchy's turbulent fate, she put her right to strike coins at the duchy's disposal. We shall never know who brought the news of her death to France in 1006. In a flight of fancy, we might imagine that her chaplain, perhaps the same to whom she wrote in 989, composed an epitaph for his queen who was to be buried in a land, which, though foreign, had accepted her as its suzerain ruler. Having carried out this last service, he might have gone back to St. Denis, the shrine of French royalty, to announce the sad news that his queen, one-time mistress of the land, would never return from her exile.

The Crisis of the Year One Thousand

We have already sufficiently described the signs of crisis that befell both the internal and foreign policy of the duchy of Bohemia at the turn of the first millennium. Boleslav II, son of an illustrious father, was thwarted every way he turned. Some of his misfortunes he brought upon himself; his opportunism, and his rare ability to back the wrong party every time a new sovereign assumed the imperial throne, must have become proverbial. Other misfortunes were caused by circumstances beyond his control; the visible support that dowager Empress Theofano extended to Poland rather than Bohemia during their conflict might have been due to the fact that Emma, daughter of Theophano's arch-enemy, dowager Empress Adelheid, ruled supreme in the chambers of Prague Castle. Still other factors were beyond the agency of the duke and his people altogether. The phase of expansion of the young and vigorous state which climaxed during the reign of Boleslav II's father was inevitably followed by the contraction of the territory administered by the Bohemian dukes, simply because conquering it presented quite a different problem from managing it, and, first and foremost, holding it together and defending it against adverse forces.

All these influences conspired to hamper the development and impact of the young statehood of Bohemia in terms of internal structuring and external prestige and glory. This was the reason why, around the year 1000, both of the newly created statehood centers adjacent to Bohemia – Poland and Hungary – obtained large-scale concessions from the empire, including ecclesiastical organization that involved archbishoprics with subordinate episcopal sees. Weakened, alienated

and mistrusted, Bohemia failed to obtain such concessions which would have then been so welcome.

It cannot be excluded that some of these external factors also involved changes in the sphere of international trade. We have already noted that after 970, interest in *Saqaliba* slaves weakened visibly in al-Andalus. Vojtěch, the second bishop of Prague, accused some of his contemporaries of selling Christians as slaves to non-Christians; this might have resulted from an emergency situation in the slave market where non-Christian slaves were simply no longer available. It is also possible, however, that Judaic merchants were losing interest in the Prague market themselves. A recently published text of legal advice to an unknown Jewish community of medieval Europe given by the highest Jewish authority – head of the *gaon* academy at Sura, Babylonia, Natronai (857–865) – had addressed the issue of whether Jews could do business at places where the tolls and fees they paid went to the treasuries of institutions that supported Christian saints ('idolatry'). This text is worth quoting in full:

You asked: There are places in which markets are established for the sake of [an] idolatry, once a year. Merchants come from all places to these markets and conduct business. When they depart, a tax is collected from them for the sake of [the] idolatry, and the market is called after its name. They thus say: 'the market of such and such an idolatry'. Under such circumstances, may an Israelite go there to conduct business...? Perhaps, because they are established on a yearly basis and collect a tax, and [the participant thereby] benefits the idolatry, it is forbidden.

If you say that because a tax is collected for idolatry it is forbidden, what of an Israelite who lives in that city? For their practice is that someone who comes from the outside, establishes a place there, and buys and sells is the one from whom they collect. But from someone who simply comes [i.e. without 'establishing a place there'], they do not collect. Under such circumstances, is it or is it not permitted for a resident of that city, or for someone who [though not a resident] does not establish a place in it, to buy or sell [at the market]? The following is our opinion: It is forbidden for an Israelite to go there to do business...

Advice of the Head of the Academy at Sura, Babylonia, Natronai bar Hilai Gaon (857–865), to a Jewish community somewhere in Latin Christian Europe, perhaps at St. Denis near Paris¹⁵⁶.

In this case, the learned rabbi prohibits orthodox Jews from visiting markets that carried out such practices. In view of the fact that at least

¹⁵⁶ McCormick 2001, 650.

part of the profit collected in the Prague slave market went to the coffers of the Břevnov monastery, a Benedictine regular house founded by Vojtěch, second bishop of Prague, in 993¹⁵⁷, the opinion of the above cited Jewish legal authority may well have started to hinder the activities of Jewish merchants in the Prague commercial center. Though we know that the Prague slave market was active at the beginning of the eleventh-century¹⁵⁸, this factor could have played a role.

Finally, we can hardly fail to observe the signs of a deep identity crisis in the elites of the young Bohemian state. The resolute refusal that Vojtěch met in 996, when he asked the Bohemians whether they wanted him back as their leader *in spiritualibus*, attests to the divide between the second bishop of Prague and the foremost representatives of his flock. Boleslav's courtiers simply did not want him in Prague, probably because they did not understand his purpose or share his attitudes, and they considered his conduct anti-social. Vojtěch made enemies almost everywhere – among the secular elites, whose economic enterprise and morals he criticized, and among the spiritual elites whose willingness to accommodate the lay world made him angry. The itinerant life of Vojtěch's successor in office, Bishop Thiddag, who kept leaving his diocese, hardly contributed to the stability of Christian life in Bohemia.

The departure of other clerical figures gives clear evidence of the quality of Bohemian spiritual life around 1000. Anastasius, abbot of the first Benedictine abbey of Břevnov, left the country together with (a part of) his convent community. Radla, Vojtěch's tutor and adviser to Slavník's sons, established himself in Hungary. *Willicus*, Vojtěch's friend and fellow Christian preacher, and provost of the Prague cathedral church, took up residence at the Monte Cassino house in Italy.

Boleslav III. Rufus (999–1002, February to March 1003)¹⁵⁹ and Jaromír (January to February 1003; 1004–1012; 1034–1035)¹⁶⁰

Boleslav III assumed government immediately after the death of his father, Boleslav II. Acting upon the last will of his father, who repented

¹⁵⁷ CDB I: 375, p. 348, ll. 14–15: *In civitate quoque Pragensi...decimum hominem captivum....* The charter is spurious, but probably includes reliable information.

¹⁵⁸ A Jewish boy from the now Polish Przemysł was sold at the Prague slave market, notably, by a non-Jew, to serve at Constantinople: Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 297–298.

¹⁵⁹ Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 553.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, and see also Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 383–452.

his sins on his death-bed, Boleslav III proceeded to establish a second Benedictine house in Bohemia in a wooded area south of Prague, where the abbey at Ostrov by Davle (*Insula*), situated on an island in the Vltava river, received the first community of monks from the Swabian monastery at Reichenau. This seemed to be a good omen for the new duke, who appeared to have decided to follow in his father's footsteps.

This was, unfortunately, a mere delusion. Very soon, Boleslav III manifested impossible manners, especially towards the new Prague Bishop Thiddag (in office 998–1017). When the duke's insolence became intolerable, Thiddag would leave Prague for Meissen and return when the ducal temper had cooled down. Boleslav showed arrogance towards his bishop but assumed a servile manner towards Ekkehard, the margrave of Meissen, whose vassal he reportedly became.

At least the bishop did not need to fear for his life, as Boleslav's brothers did. Boleslav had Jaromír castrated and planned to murder Oldřich in a bath-house. Accompanied by their mother¹⁶¹, both brothers then left Bohemia for Bavaria, where they ended up at the court of Duke Henry, son of the notorious Henry the Quarrelsome. In 1003, Oldřich was imprisoned there in consequence of courtly intrigue masterminded by Boleslav the Valiant, ruler of Poland, only to be released shortly afterwards.

Finally, the Bohemians had had enough of Rufus's excesses; they rose in rebellion against him in 1002 and chased him out of the country. He went to Henry of Schweinfurth, administrator of the Bavarian Northern Mark (Nordgau), but this potentate threw the Bohemian fugitive into prison. Boleslav the Valiant of Poland then put a member of the Přemyslid lineage living in Poland, Vladivoj¹⁶², on the stone throne at Prague. Vladivoj occupied it for less than a year, however, before dying at the beginning of 1003, reportedly from the excessive consumption of strong drink¹⁶³. In one of his sober moments, though, he did take a step that would have long-term consequences: he had Bohemia conferred on him by the emperor as a fief¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶¹ Thietmar of Merseburg, from whom this information comes, probably meant Duchess Emma.

¹⁶² Sommer-Třeštk-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 552.

¹⁶³ I cannot resist the temptation to quote here Václav Novotný, one of the founding fathers of modern Bohemian historiography. Writing about Vladivoj and Bishop Thiddag, who is also reported to have indulged in strong drink, he noted: 'At that time, Bohemia was in good hands: the duke always drunk, and the bishop rarely sober.'

¹⁶⁴ Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 387.

Having lost Vladivoj, Valiant restored Boleslav III (who had gone to his court on his release from the Schweinfurth prison,) to his Bohemian duchy. Rufus treated his people so cruelly, however, that Valiant saw it necessary to have him blinded and confined in an unnamed castle, where he died in the 1030s, possibly in 1034 or 1037.

Valiant then did what the inevitable logic of the government of men demanded of him: he assembled his troops and occupied most of Bohemia (he may already have taken possession of Moravia)¹⁶⁵. The Bohemians neither supported, nor rebelled against, foreign rule. After Henry of Bavaria had assumed the imperial dignity as Henry II (1002–1024), however, he sent out an expeditionary force against the Polish garrisons in Bohemia, with Jaromír and Oldřich as senior officers. These forces took control of the land without meeting any serious resistance. When the Polish troops evacuated Prague Castle, Soběslav, son of Slavník, was killed by his fellow countrymen, fighting as a rear guard of the retreating units.

From September of 1004, Jaromír therefore exercised supreme power in Bohemia. Oldřich was given an apanage duchy, perhaps in eastern Bohemia, but this did not stop him from chasing his brother out of Prague in April 1012. Jaromír had to seek refuge first with Boleslav the Valiant in Poland, and then at the imperial court. Henry had Jaromír confined to Utrecht in the present-day Netherlands, at the far end of the empire.

The disorderly fate of the Bohemian duchy had remarkable consequences. First and foremost, the beginning of the eleventh-century saw the transfer of the Prague mint to several operation centers in the countryside. We have already mentioned Mělník, where the dowager Duchess Emma tried to help the Bohemian economy by striking the necessary coins. Other coins were minted at Starý-Plzenec by the modern city of Plzeň (Pilsen), perhaps with an eye to the western commercial orientation of this major site maintaining relations with Regensburg and later Nuremberg. The output of eastern Bohemian mints is represented by coins struck at the now Přemyslid site of Stará-Kouřim, and possibly also at Chrudim. This unprecedented move in the history of Přemyslid Bohemia might have been undertaken to guarantee at least the basic

¹⁶⁵ But see Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 393–399, putting Polish annexation of Moravia to 1030.

economic functioning of a state torn apart by the strife between the ducal brothers and their supporters.

Another, and even more remarkable development, may be registered in the iconography of Přemyslid coins. Both Jaromír and Oldřich placed the image of Saint Wenceslas on their coins, depicted not as a glorious martyr, but as a knight in armor, ready to defend his realms. This shows the first step towards the comprehension of Saint Wenceslas as the heavenly, and thus eternal, incarnation of the terrestrial community of the Bohemians. Regardless of the century's turbulent events, Bohemians of this period thus expressed their ardent belief that the great achievement of their ancestors, the establishment of the Bohemian state, would last forever¹⁶⁶.

Let us take note that this idea first surfaced at a time when the state of Bohemia suffered one of the deepest humiliations in its history.

*Oldřich (1012–1034)*¹⁶⁷

The youngest (?) son of Boleslav II thus got firm hold of the reins of Bohemian government, and began to show his talents. In this he was lucky, because both the empire and Poland were too deeply embroiled in their wars to attend to anything that was not of vital importance to them. First and foremost, Oldřich consolidated his political position in a transparently efficient manner – by staging a massacre of all those who could eventually oppose him. When Boleslav the Valiant of Poland sent an embassy led by his own son to Oldřich's court at Prague in 1014, Oldřich, having refused an offer of alliance, pursued the train on its return to Poland, had the ordinary members of the group killed and threw Mieszko, Valiant's son, into prison. This was too severe even for Emperor Henry II, who demanded Mieszko's extradition. Let us notice here the contrast between Oldřich's absolute disregard for the rules of hospitality, and the attitude of Henry II, who, though Mieszko, his arch-enemy's son, must have been a valuable hostage to him, ultimately restored his freedom.

Let us notice also that Oldřich repeated this later, in 1031, when Mieszko II, already a ruler of Poland, came to him in search of refuge

¹⁶⁶ In this respect, the legend of one of Oldřich's early coins speaks most eloquently: (obv.) ODALRICUS DUX' (rev.) 'REGNET IN PRAGA SANCTA (presumably under the protection of Saint Wenceslas, see <http://christianization.hist.cam.ac.uk/regions/bohemia/bohemia-aspects-christ.html>, cited June 4th, 2009).

from his rebel brothers and subjects. This time, the new German king, Conrad II (1024–1039), also refused to take Mieszko in, arguing that he would not buy an enemy from an enemy¹⁶⁸.

The tough and aggressive Oldřich was to be dealt a fate that, although a tragedy for him, was to be most fortunate for the early state of Bohemia. Having had no progeny by his legitimate wife, he fathered a son with a lady called Božena, disregarding the fact that she ‘was Křesina’s’¹⁶⁹. Božena’s origins and marital status have long occupied historians of Bohemia, but will probably remain a mystery due to insufficient sources. Božena was definitely not a simple peasant beauty, as some authors tend to depict her. The fact that her name appears in chronicles, charters and Church necrologies indicates that she must have been of noble origin, but what exactly the words ‘was Křesina’s’ mean, we shall never know.

At any rate, this does not much matter, as it seems that in old Bohemian law, all sons which a father recognized as his were legitimate.

Some time before 1030, Oldřich’s troops took back Moravia, which was occupied by Polish garrisons¹⁷⁰. This major step towards the re-unification of a duchy which had long been dormant, powerless against both external enemies and internal tormentors, had a very significant outcome. Oldřich decided to entrust the newly conquered province to his son Břetislav. Having taken over Moravia, the prince proved to be an excellent administrator, and, through this exposure to the practical tasks of rule, quickly and successfully learned the essentials of statecraft. The return of Moravia to Bohemian rule has usually been dated somewhere around 1020. Recently, however, and for reasons that merit further consideration, Marzena Matła-Kozłowska has argued for a date around 1030¹⁷¹. Břetislav took Judith of Schweinfurth, whom he abducted from a monastery, as his young bride and proceeded with her to Moravia, which was by then obviously under his rule; at the very least, the new dating would help to explain why he celebrated the birth of his first son, Svyatopluk, as late as 1031.

In the year 1033, Oldřich was summoned to account for his deeds before the imperial assembly called to the site of Werben on the Elbe river. Having been accused of various crimes, he lost the Bohemian

¹⁶⁷ Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 553.

¹⁶⁸ Matła-Kozłowska 2008, 429.

¹⁶⁹ ...*que fuit Cressinae*: Matła-Kozłowska 2008, 437–438, esp. 437 fn. 213.

¹⁷⁰ See also Matła-Kozłowska 2008, 400–405.

¹⁷¹ Matła-Kozłowska 2008, 434–451.

throne and was imprisoned in Bavaria. At this juncture, Břetislav took over the duchy and declared its independence, but ultimately had to acknowledge Conrad II's supremacy when imperial troops invaded Bohemia. The emperor then decided to bring back old Jaromír and give him rule over Bohemia, while Břetislav was to be the overlord of Moravia. Then he changed his mind, liberated Oldřich from prison, and ordered that the two brothers – Jaromír and Oldřich – be given joint rule over Bohemia.

Having returned to his homeland in the spring of 1034, however, Oldřich lost no time in having Jaromír arrested, blinded and confined to Lysá-nad-Labem, one of the ducal possessions in central Bohemia. Břetislav saved all the members of his body, and possibly even his life, by fleeing, perhaps to his German relatives.

This is when Providence intervened, and on November 9th, 1034, Duke Oldřich died suddenly in the middle of a banquet¹⁷².

*Břetislav I. (1035–1055), or the Constitutive Act of the Bohemian State*¹⁷³

Sources shedding light on the first years of one of the greatest statesmen of medieval Bohemia are lamentably scant. The circumstances of his early education, and of his first experiences in public life, elude us completely. Only with his installation as administrator of Moravia does he appear before us as a highly skilled manager. He seems to have given the land a firm power structure based on new fortifications, often erected close to the Moravian sites which had, in the meantime, fallen into disuse and were old and decrepit. In Moravia, he probably also initiated the striking of coins, unless, of course, some of the issues of Boleslav the Valiant of Poland did not come out of his Moravian mint, as has been suggested¹⁷⁴. Břetislav's eldest son Spytihněv was born in Moravia, and Moravia also served as the base for Břetislav's military actions against Hungary. (Fig. 49)

At the turn of the years 1034 and 1035, Prague Castle bore witness to an extraordinary event. After the death of Oldřich, the old and blind Duke Jaromír decided to cede his right of suzerainty over Bohemia to

¹⁷² Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 433 fn. 199, quoting the *Annales Hildesheimenses*, according to which Oldřich *cibo potuque suffocatus extabuit*.

¹⁷³ Sommer-Třeštík-Žemlička-Mašková-Novotný 2009, 554.

¹⁷⁴ Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 395 fn. 779, quoting P. Stróżyk.

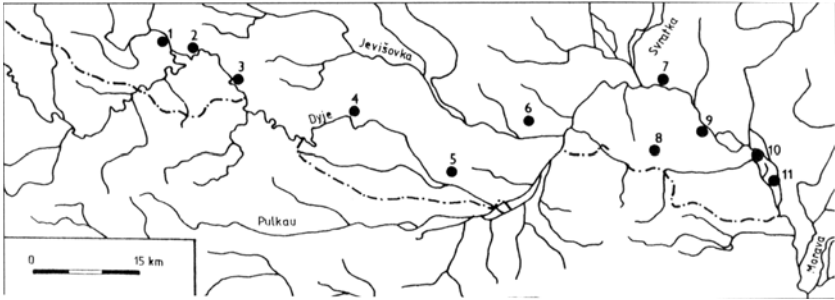


Figure 49: Eleventh to twelfth-century fortifications guarding the Moravian-Austrian border along the Dyje (Thaya) river. The situation of these forts is striking. At least some of them date from the time of Břetislav I (1034–1055), possibly even from his Moravian governorate. They thus constitute an early example of deliberate strategical design to protect the frontiers of the duchy (Peška-Unger 1993, 145 Abb. 7).

his young nephew Břetislav. An assembly of the Bohemian political elite was therefore called to Prague, and there, among the ramparts of the age-old residence of Přemyslid dukes, Jaromír conducted Břetislav to the stone throne of Bohemia. Having instructed him at length on the basic rules of statecraft, he ushered him to the stone, and had him seated upon it. The assembly fell silent, whereupon Jaromír cried: ‘Lo, your duke!’ The assembly broke into a clamor of approval, and thus Břetislav was lawfully installed as the new paramount.

Shortly after this, Jaromír was killed by a murderer’s lance while at a privy.

The Greatest Hour of the Early State of Bohemia

Having established himself on the throne of Bohemia and brought his relations with the empire to order, Břetislav conceived and carried out a project that was to consolidate the foundations of the Bohemian state, and provide the first occasion on which the Bohemians showed how well they had learned the essentials of statecraft. The adjacent state of Poland, deserted by its suzerain and torn apart by internal strife and an anti-Christian revolt¹⁷⁵, lacked the power to resist any invader of

¹⁷⁵ On the archeological, as well as historical evidence, see Matfa-Kozłowska 2008, 446–448, 453–454.

sufficient strength and determination. It did not take long for Břetislav to take up this challenge, the more so since the chief shrine of Poland, the Gniezno cathedral, housed the most precious treasure that any Bohemian, Pole or Hungarian of this period could imagine – the body of St. Adalbert, patron saint of this part of Europe, a relic conferring supreme prestige on anyone who had its custody. Břetislav had learned well the lesson of his great ancestors, Wenceslas and Boleslav I, and most likely nurtured plans to elevate the Prague episcopal see to the status of an archbishopric¹⁷⁶.

The expeditionary force departed for Poland some time around the turn of the years 1038 and 1039¹⁷⁷. Bohemian troops advanced without any serious resistance, and soon reached the ramparts of the Gniezno cathedral. Having opened the gates of the fortress, Bohemian warriors hastened to secure the precious treasure.

At this point, however, they were confronted by an opposition they hadn't reckoned on. As soon as unholy Bohemian hands touched the altar in which St. Adalbert's body rested, a mysterious curse descended upon them, and rendered them unable to move or speak. Severus, the Bishop of Prague, appeared at the scene and told the marauders that they were about to commit sacrilege, and that anyone undertaking a task so great and holy as touching the body of a saint must first cleanse himself by three days of fasting and prayer. Having been released from the curse, the Bohemians did what the bishop said.

But the matter did not end there because at this moment, the duke intervened. Both he and the bishop challenged the assembled Bohemians, saying that Saint Adalbert's wrath would not be assuaged until the Bohemians swore to him that they would rid themselves of the abominable habits that had so angered the second bishop of Prague that he had decided to leave them. When all the Bohemians had agreed to revoke and repent their sins, the duke and the bishop promulgated, in the form a solemn oath to the martyr, the first code of laws of medieval Bohemia.

Finally, the Bohemians were allowed to dismantle the altar and remove the relic, which was then carried in a solemn procession to Prague. On August 23rd and 24th 1039, the body of Saint Adalbert of Prague, together with the bodies of the Five Brother Martyrs of Poland

¹⁷⁶ On this see the citation of *Annalista Saxo*, in Matła-Kozłowska 2008, 473, fn. 399.

¹⁷⁷ On the whole undertaking see most recently Matła-Kozłowska 2008, 452–492.

and Gniezno's first Archbishop Radim, and other priceless treasures, reached their new resting place at the cathedral church at Prague Castle.

Although we do not know if things happened exactly like this, this form of the legend found its way into the land's earliest historical chronicle, written by the Canon Cosmas, who was born shortly after the events at Gniezno took place. The story is therefore of cardinal importance not only for the early church of Bohemia, but also for its state, constituting something like an *origo gentis* saga of Christian Bohemia. As such, it reflects the basic beliefs and convictions upon which the earliest statehood of Bohemia was based.

Let us proceed to the most ancient code of laws of medieval Bohemia. It legislated:

- against pagan rites,
- against the cohabitation of one husband with several wives,
- in favor of stable marriages,
- against capital crimes, such as attempts at the lives of parents, siblings, and ordained priests,
- against the opening of new taverns, probably in the vein of St. Adalbert's defense of brewing beer for sale,
- against holding markets and doing labor on Sundays and on feast days, and
- against burying the dead in non-Christian cemeteries¹⁷⁸.

It is no wonder, then, that Cosmas the Chronicler, a true son of the Church of Rome, considered this to be a fundamental act of the Bohemian statehood. Yet the importance of the events at Gniezno reaches even further. First and foremost, it shows Duke Břetislav as an accomplished thinker, manager and statesman. Promulgations of law codes notoriously constitute the most difficult moments in the lives of early states, in which they usually close the initial phase of emergence and stabilization of the fresh state power. The task of having the elites of nascent states abide by law, and thus deprive themselves of a part of the vast power that they had wielded until the promulgation of the first law codes, is exceedingly difficult, indeed, a *shibboleth* of early state building. Being well aware of this, Břetislav took his 'legislative assembly' on

¹⁷⁸ For recent comments on the Gniezno statutes of Břetislav see Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 472 fn. 398.

a military expedition abroad, and thus made it perfectly clear that he had mastery over the life and death of his troops, who were crucially dependent on his strategical talent. Moreover, the matter had a spiritual dimension from the very beginning: the expedition included the bishop of Prague, and other clergy. Finally, the whole act was set upon a stage of sacrality: the participants first had to attain a state of ritual purity, and only then did they acquire the capacity to *liaise* with the saint, and the power and determination to bind themselves by a sacred oath. Undoubtedly, the Prague politicians had seen so many secular oaths of allegiance broken, that they realized something stronger was needed to unify the common will of the Bohemians to promulgate laws by which they voluntarily deprived themselves of the boundless liberty they had previously enjoyed. In this instance, the early Bohemians acted in accordance with the third formulation of Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative¹⁷⁹.

The promulgation of the Gniezno statutes by Duke Břetislav and Bishop Severus closes the long story of the establishment of the Bohemian state. From then on, the Bohemians possessed a social mechanism designed to give every citizen a chance to attain bliss by a life of virtue, as Aristotle so beautifully put it.

Epilogue

By way of a postscript, let us recall two other acts of key importance. These are, first, the order of succession to the highest office of early medieval Bohemia, and second, the provision of apanage duchies for younger members of the Přemysl dynasty.

By legislating that it would always be the oldest surviving member of the Přemyslid lineage who would occupy the stone throne of Bohemia as suzerain, Břetislav provided a clear, comprehensible, measurable and verifiable rule of succession within the land's highest kinship grouping. It matters little that this rule applied for a very short time, and was subsequently breached many times. Břetislav gave his successors in office a perceptible *cursus honorum* which outlined a perspective of their rise up the social ladder. This system of hereditary succession provided

¹⁷⁹ "Therefore, every rational being must so act as if he were through his maxim always a legislating member in the universal kingdom of ends."

a serviceable rule for choosing the head of state until the principle of succession by primogeniture was universally adopted.

An integral part of the political superstructure of the early Bohemian state assembled by Břetislav I is constituted by the system of apauage duchies. This cannot, of course, be considered the first experiment of its kind in this part of Europe. In neighboring Bavaria, Duke Theodo, residing at Regensburg (cca. 680–718), of whom we heard in connection with St. Emmeram of Regensburg, created apauage duchies for his sons at Passau, Salzburg and Freising much earlier¹⁸⁰. Having thought about succession to the highest office in Bohemia, Břetislav hit upon the problem of how its incumbents would pass the long years before their installation on the stone throne of Prague. By devising the system of apauage duchies, he offered his successors the chance to put their administrative and management capabilities to the test, and also reveal their talents to the political community of early medieval Bohemia, who would then be able to evaluate the performance of the individual Přemyslids, and know what to expect from them when they came to occupy the throne. At the same time, the system constituted a certain safety device should the ruling dynasty come close to extinction. In the case of a vacancy on the Prague throne, experienced administrators and managers of Přemyslid blood, capable of taking over the direction of the state, could always be found. The chief beneficiary of Břetislav's measure was not the dynasty, but the entire Bohemian community.

This is the moment when I must take leave of my readers, and thank them for having ventured with me into the maze that is the history of the Czech people. We have witnessed the erection of a simple but serviceable architecture of the early state of Bohemia. The twists and turns of fate that led to the establishment, stabilization and survival of this social body, which conferred identity on subsequent generations of Bohemians and Czechs may, of course, be described in many different ways. I have dared to present my own concept, and am, of course, myself to blame for any inconsistencies and errors. What I have submitted here was prompted by two questions with which I was confronted during my years of historical research:

Why is it that no one has ever cast doubt over the suzerainty of the Přemyslid dynasty to rule over the entire territory of Bohemia?

¹⁸⁰ Hardt 2003b.

Why is the PAX DUCIS / REGIS XY IN MANU SANCTI WENCEZLAI formula of the Přemyslid seals unique among the seal legends of eastern Europe, and how is it to be understood?

Inevitably, seeking answers to these questions has raised a whole set of other questions. Did the Přemyslids base their claim for supreme rule of Bohemia on the fact that they were the land's first Christian princes (which they were not)? Did the Christianization of Bohemia proceed so smoothly because a social center, whose supremacy was universally acknowledged, embraced the Christian faith? Did the Přemyslids legitimize their suzerainty by adopting an adjusted version of an age-old ritual carried out by the ninth-century BOHEMI which they made into their enthronement ceremony, and which embodied their claim of supremacy over the land? Did the ninth-century BOHEMI really convene in the midst of the land, on a rocky ridge above the Vltava river, with the purpose of swearing mutual loyalty and unity? Did they do this before a shining divinity whose rays chased away the forces of darkness and evil, and who stood witness to the keeping of oaths, and to any breaches thereof, as an all-seeing power?

History will keep some of its secrets forever, and rightly so.

POSTSCRIPT

‘Tonight we will merry, merry be,
Tonight we will merry, merry be,
Tonight we will merry, merry be,
Tomorrow we’ll be sober.’

We have traveled a long way with the ancestors of the Bohemians, and present-day Czechs, my dear readers. We have seen them emerge from ‘nowhere’, this ‘nowhere’ being either the eastern steppes, or the south-eastern Danubian regions. We have watched as they settled in what was to become their homeland, when they learned to know it, manage it, administer it and love it; when they decided to live and to die there. We have witnessed their struggles and wars, when they faced death and destruction. Observing their shortcomings, faults, omissions and overt crimes, we may have wished we could advise their elders on how to manage public affairs. Ultimately, however, at the beginning of the eleventh-century, we saw the Bohemians rise from one of the deepest humiliations that the country had ever experienced, and make the unanimous decision to take over the management of their own land. Ever since that historical moment, the ship that is the Bohemian, and Czech, state, *fluctuat nec mergitur* – it wavers, heaves, is tossed about from time to time, but never sinks.

It often happens that, caught up in everyday events, we lose sight of the primary impulse ‘that started it all’, and fail to appreciate the lessons of the past which may guide us and help us to react to present and future sequences of events. Witnessing uncertainties in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, I have often wondered when the finest moments of the Bohemian state occurred, when the tradition that gave the people their identity and *pied-à-terre* came into being, and which part of its history warrants the most respect and admiration.

Concerning the emergence of Bohemian statehood, it is undoubtedly the part played by St. Wenceslas that made the greatest impression on me. This is not because of the fact that we know so much about the sanctified duke – indeed, there is very little that can be reliably known. Also, far be it from me to embrace the memory of Saint Wenceslas because of the ‘second life’ of the suzerain in question. Apparently, this was far

more turbulent and unpredictable than the real life of Venceslav Bratislavic; again, we have little information. The memory of the saintly duke has been claimed both by brilliant, intellectually and emotionally rich personages, and by miserable human beings, shameless impostors, ruthless go-getters and proud egoists.

The message of the Saint-Wenceslas tradition that resonates with me deeply is this: it was to the sanctified duke that his retainers, followers and admirers entrusted the load that, though incorporeal, weighs so much; peace, accord, consensus and harmony, respect for one another and the ability to listen to others, the firm belief that although we may be different, we bear the same responsibility as our ancestors; that is to protect and preserve the land which we freely choose to be our home, and to ceaselessly toil for the improvement of our material and spiritual environment. Peace of ages and peace of generations, peace based on the sanctity of the given pledge, the integrity of which is guaranteed by the all-seeing sun itself, rests in the hands of Duke Wenceslas. Such a state doctrine does not only seem viable, but is, in my opinion, one of the noblest ideas on a state may be established. If our ancestors managed to maintain state life based on such a doctrine for more than a millennium, then our descendants could try it for a couple of millennia more, the current administration of the Czech state, heeding the rhyme of a once-popular song introducing this epilogue, notwithstanding.

I am only too aware of the fact that I cannot provide firm proof for what I say. Anyone looking into the national past will inevitably interpret what they perceive in accordance with their own faith, belief, hopes and wishes. That is why I wrote this book. Because, in fact, *meum fuit provocare, interrogare, rogare* – it was mine to provoke, to ask questions, to propose.

REFERENCE LIST OF SOURCES AND LITERATURE FOR FURTHER STUDY

Sources

- Some recently published works contain ample bibliographies, especially Bláhová-Frolík-Profantová 1999, 754–778, or Třeštík 2003, 236–239; in fact, also Charvát 2004, 189–194. References not listed there are these.
- Annales Pegavenses: Georgius Henricus Pertz (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum t. XVI, Hannoverae: Impensis bibliopoli aulici Hahniani 1859*, 232–257.
- Bavarian Geographer: Bohuslav Horák a Dušan Trávníček (ed.), *Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*, Praha: Rozpravy Československé akademie věd, Řada společenských věd roč. 66, 1956, seš. 2. The Latin text is accessible from: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayerischer_Geograph, quoted March 5, 2009.
- CDB: Gustavus Friedrich (ed.), *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, vol. I, Prague: Sumptibus comitorum regni Bohemiae 1904–1907.
- Chaloupecký, Václav (ed.), 1939: *Prameny 10. století, Legendy Kristiánovy o svatém Václavu a svaté Ludmile* [Tenth-century sources, The *Christianus* legends of Saint Wenceslas and Saint Ludmila] (Svatováclavský sborník II, Svatováclavská tradice 2), Praha.
- Davis, Raymond 1992: *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis) – the ancient biographies of nine popes from AD 715 to AD 817*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Deliyannis, Deborah M. 1994: *The Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis: Critical Edition and Commentary, A Dissertation in The History of Art Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*.
- ‘Historia Langobardorum’ by Paul the Deacon: William D. Foulke, Edward Peters (ed.), Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1974 [1907].
- Paolo Diacono, *Storia dei Longobardi, testo originale e versione italiana, Introduzione di Claudio Leonardi, Apparati critici e iconografici a cura di Roberto Cassanelli*, Milano: Electa Editrice 1985.
- Ivanov S. A., Litavrin G. G., Ronin V. K. (ed.), 1995: *Svod drevnejšich pis'mennych izvestij o slavanach, tom II (VII-IX vv.)* [Collection of the most ancient written reports on the Slavs, vol. II, VIIth-Ixth centuries], Moskva: Izdatel'skaja firma ‘Vostočnaja literatura’.
- Legends of Christian saints of Bohemia in Church Slavonic in translation into Czech: Bláhová Emilie, Konzal Václav (ed.), 1976: *Staroslověnské legendy českého původu* [Old Church Slavonic legends of Bohemian origin], Praha: Vyšehrad.
- Legends of Christian saints of Bohemia in Latin in translation into Czech: Oldřich Králík (ed.), *Nejstarší legendy přemyslovských Čech* [Most ancient legends of Přemyslids Bohemia], Praha: Vyšehrad 1969.
- Ludvíkovský, Jaroslav (ed.), 1978: *Vita et passio sancti Wenczelai et sanctae Ludmilae aviae eius*, Praha: Vyšehrad.
- MMFH: *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, source edition in five volumes, ed. L. Havlík, Brunae 1967–1977.

- The first volume has recently been re-edited: Dana Bartoňková, Lubomír Havlík, Zdeněk Masařík, Radoslav Večerka Radoslav (ed.): *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici I*, 2. Aufl., Brno: Ústav klasických studií a Ústav archeologie a muzeologie FF MU 2008.
- Notitia dignitatum: Otto Seeck (ed.), *Notitia Dignitatum*, Berolini apud Weidmannos 1876.
- Wallace Hadrill, John M. (ed.), 1960: *Chronicorum Liber Quartus cum Continuationibus*, The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations (Medieval Classics), London and Edinburgh.
- Wolfram Herwig, Kusternig Andreas, Haupt Herbert (ed.), 1982: *Die Chronik des Fredegar (Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Bd. 4a)*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Literature

- Amory, Patrick 1997: *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bálint, Csanád 2006: Der Reichtum der Awaren – ‘Fürstengräber’ – Prunkgräber – Schatzfunde, in Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, Dirk Krause, Anke Wesse (ed.), *Herrschaft – Tod – Bestattung, Zu den vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Prunkgräbern als archäologisch-historische Quelle*, Internationale Fachkonferenz Kiel, 16.- 19. Oktober 2003, Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt 2006, 147–159.
- Barceló, Carmen, Cantero, Miguel 1995: *Capiteles cordobeses dedicados a ʿĀfar al-Siqḷabī*, in ‘Al-Qantara’ XVI/2, 421–431.
- Barlow, Claude W. (ed.), 1950: *Martini episcopi Bracarensis opera omnia*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, Geoffrey Cumberlege and Oxford University Press.
- Bazin, Louis 1994: *Etat des discussions sur la pénétration du bouddhisme et du manichéisme en milieu turc*, in Raoul Curiel, Rika Gyselen (ed.), *Itinéraires d’Orient – Hommages à Claude Cahen, Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l’Etude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient (Res Orientales VI)*, 229–240.
- Beazley, John D. 2002: *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems [now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]*, edited by John Boardman et al., (BAR International Series 1074), Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Benda, Klement 1967: *Ornament and Jewellery – Archaeological Finds from Eastern Europe*, Prague: Artia.
- Bertram, Marion 2007: *Die Baiuwaren (Baiuvary)*, in Menghin 2007, 182–194.
- Binford, Lewis 1971: *Mortuary practices: their study and their potential*, in J. A. Brown (ed.), *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* No. 25, 6–29.
- Bischoff, Bernhard 1984a: XXXVIII. *Armenisch-lateinisches Glossar (späteres X. Jahrhundert)*, in B. Bischoff (ed.), *Anecdota Novissima – Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 250–255.
- Bischoff, Bernhard 1984b: XL. *Ein lateinischer Bienensegen mit althochdeutschen Wörtern (Zehntes bis elftes Jahrhundert)*, in B. Bischoff (ed.), *Anecdota Novissima – Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 259–263.
- Bláha, Josef 2000: 04.03.01: *Rohkarneol*, in Wiczorek-Hinz 2000, Katalog, 106.
- Bláhová, Emilie 1988: *V. Staroslověnské písemnictví v Čechách 10. století [Old Church Slavonic literature in tenth-century Bohemia]*, in N. Reichertová, E. Bláhová, V. Dvořáčková, V. Huňáček (ed.), *Sázava, Památník staroslověnské kultury v Čechách*, Praha: Odeon, 55–69.

- Bláhová Marie, Frolík Jan, Profantová Nad'a 1999: Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české I (do roku 1197) [The major History of the lands of the Crown of Bohemia], Praha a Litomyšl: Paseka.
- Blažek, Václav 2005: Praha jazyková – Lingvistická archeologie Pražské kotliny [Prague from the viewpoint of a linguist – Linguistic archaeology of the Prague basin], in Lutovský-Smejtek et al. 2005, 946–973.
- Blanchard, Ian 2001: Mining, metallurgy and minting in the Middle Ages vol. I: Asiatic supremacy, 425–1125, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Boháčová, Iva (ed.), 2003: Stará Boleslav – Přemyslovský hrad v raném středověku [Stará-Boleslav – A Přemyslid castle in the early Middle Ages], (Medievalia Archaeologica 5), Praha: Archeologický ústav AV ČR.
- Böhner Kurt, Ellmers Dietrich, Weidemann Kurt 1970: Das frühe Mittelalter – Führer durch das Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum in Mainz Band 1, Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Borgolte Michael 1986: Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit – Eine Prosopographie, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag.
- Bosworth, Clifford Edmund 1995: Ötüken, in C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs and G. Lecomte, Encyclopaedia Islamica VIII (Ned-Sam), Leiden: Brill, 231.
- Bozóky, Edina 2006: La politique des reliques de Constantin à Saint Louis, Paris: Beauchesne.
- Boyce, Mary 1996: On the orthodoxy of Sasanian Zoroastrism, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, LIX/1, 11–28.
- Bravermannová, Milena 2001: Nové poznatky o nejstarších textilních z relikvářového hrobu sv. Ludmily [New evidence on the earliest textiles from the reliquary grave of St. Ludmila], 'Archeologia Historica' 26, Brno and Čáslav, 447–486.
- Březinová, Helena 1997: Doklady textilní výroby v 6.- 12. století na území Čech, Moravy a Slovenska [Evidence for sixth to twelfth-century textile production in the territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia], 'Památky archeologické' 88/2, 124–179.
- Březinová, Helena 2007: Textilní výroba v českých zemích ve 13.- 15. století – Poznání textilní produkce na základě archeologických nálezů [The textile production of the Czech lands in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries – Study of textile production based on archaeological finds], Praha – Brno: Ústav pro pravěk a ranou dobu dějinnou FF UK Praha and Ústav archeologie a muzeologie FF MU Brno.
- Bubeník, Josef 1999: Poznámky o nejstarších hradištích raného středověku v Čechách [Notes on the earliest walled sites of the early Middle Ages in Bohemia], 'Archeologické rozhledy' 51/4, 631–648.
- Callieri, Pierfrancesco 2001: In the land of the Magi: Demons and magic in the everyday life of pre-Islamic Iran, in R. Gyselen (ed.), Démons et merveilles d'Orient (Res Orientales XIII), Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Etude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 11–35.
- Cavallari, Cinzia 2005: Oggetti di ornamento personale dall'Emilia Romagna bizantina, I contesti di rinvenimento (Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna, Dipartimento d'Archeologia, Studi e Scavi, nuova serie 13), Bologna: Ante quem.
- Chabbi, Jacqueline 1994: La représentation du passé aux premiers âges de l'historiographie califale, in R. Curiel, R. Gyselen (ed.), Itinéraires d'Orient - Hommage à Claude Cahen, Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Etude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient (Res Orientales VI), 21–47.
- Charvát, Petr 1988: Předkřesťanské ideologie v raném českém středověku [Pre-Christian ideologies in the early Middle Ages of Bohemia], Studia Medievalia Pragensia I, Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 77–91.
- Charvát, Petr 1992: Notes on the social structure of Bohemia in the eleventh to twelfth centuries – Poznámky k sociální struktuře Čech v 11.- 12. století, Památky archeologické 83, 372–384.

- Charvát, Petr 1994: On Slavs, silk and the early state: The town of Čáslav in the early Middle Ages. 'Památky archeologické' 85/1, 108–153.
- Charvát, Petr 1995a: Die Langobarden und Böhmen, 'CIVIS - Studi e testi' 55 (Trento, Italia), Anno XIX, 7–14.
- Charvát, Petr 1995b: Libušinka, Žároví a Žiži: české pohanství na cestě ke státu [The place names of Libušinka, Žároví and Žiži: Bohemian paganism on its way to statehood], 'Acta onomastica' XXXVI, 1995, věnováno k 100. výročí narození univ. prof. PhDr. Vladimíra Šmilauera, DrSc., zakladatele moderní české onomastiky, str. 84–88.
- Charvát, Petr 1997a: Čáslavský zlatý prsten a jeho výzdoba [The golden ring of Čáslav and its decoration], 'Sborník Společnosti přátel starožitností' 1, Praha, 23–26.
- Charvát, Petr 1997b: Awaren, Slawen und Römer: Antikes Kulturgut im Frühmittelalter Mährens. CIVIS - Studi e testi Anno XXI, 1997, 15–24.
- Charvát, Petr 1998: Dálkový obchod v raně středověké Evropě (7.– 10. století) [Long-distance trade in early medieval Europe, seventh to tenth-century], Brno: Masarykova univerzita.
- Charvát, Petr 1999a: Na počátku bylo slovo: České křesťanství do roku tisíc (In the beginning there was a word: Bohemian Christianity up to 1000 AD), in: 'Studia Archaeologica Slovaca Mediaevalia' II, 1999, 7–32.
- Charvát, Petr 1999b: Zerbrechliches Erbe: Römische Glas im Frühmittelalter Mährens. CIVIS - Studi e testi, Quaderno 68, anno XXIII, 1999, 123–129.
- Charvát, Petr 2000: Pohorelice na Moravě a spravedlivý Artá Viráz: Íránská mytologie na avarských pásových kováčích? (The site of Pohorelice in Moravia and the venerable Ardha Viradh: Iranian mythology on Avar belt mounts?), in: Ľ. Obuchová (ed.), Svět živých a svět mrtvých, soubor studií interdisciplinární pracovní skupiny 'Náboženské směry v Asii / Religious trends in Asia', Praha: Česká orientalistická společnost a Dar Ibn Rushd 2000, 128–137.
- Charvát, Petr 2001a: Kult krve Páně na Velké Moravě [Veneration of the Holy Blood in Great Moravia], Marginalia Historica IV, Praha a Litomyšl 2001, 63–72.
- Charvát, Petr 2001b: Eine frühmittelalterliche Doppelkirche in Mähren: Ihr Ursprung, Charakter und Deutung, CIVIS – studi e testi 74, Anno 25, 79–90.
- Charvát, Petr 2002: Franský kupec Samo a sásánovský zábor Arábie [Samo, the Frankish merchant, and the Sasanian conquest of Arabia], 'Archeologické rozhledy' 54/4, 903–907.
- Charvát, Petr 2004: Boleslav II., sjednotitel českého státu [Boleslav II, unified of the Bohemian state], Praha: Vyšehrad.
- Charvát, Petr 2005: Dona ferentes: Ratisbonne 845, la christianisation de la Bohême et l'archéologie, in Martin Aurell, Thomas Deswarte (ed.), Famille, violence et christianisation au Moyen Âge, Mélanges offerts à Michel Rouche, Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 219–227.
- Charvát, Petr 2007a: *Est ubi nunc scriptura attavorum?* Svatý Martin, Braga, Tours a Slované [*Est ubi nunc scriptura attavorum?* Saint Martin, Braga, Tours and the Slavs], in Kateřina Horníčková, Michal Šroněk (edd.), Žena ve člunu – Sborník Hany J. Hlaváčkové, Praha: ARTEFACTUM, 317–323.
- Charvát, Petr 2007b: Svrchovanost před státem: Symboly suverenity v uměleckém řemesle českých zemí osmého a devátého století [Suzerainty before state: Suzerainty symbols in the applied arts of the eighth to ninth-century Czech lands], "Pomezí Čech, Moravy a Slezska - Sborník prací ze společenských a přírodních věd", vol. 8, Litomyšl, 11–26.
- Charvát, Petr 2007c: Zrod českého státu 568–1055 [Birth of the Bohemian state], (*Historica* edition), Praha.
- Charvát Petr, Prosecký Jiří (edd.) 1996: Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub at-Turtushi: Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe, c. 800–1300 A.D. Proceedings of the International Colloquy, 25–29 April 1994, Praha: Oriental Institute.

- Cibulka, Josef 1958: Velkomoravský kostel v Modré u Velehradu a začátky křesťanství na Moravě [The Great Moravian church at Modrá by Velehrad and the beginnings of Christianity in Moravia], Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd.
- Claude, Dietrich 1985: Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa Teil II: Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters, Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas im Jahre 1980, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, No. 144, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Coatsworth, Elizabeth 2006: Inscriptions on Textiles Associated with Anglo-Saxon England, in Alexander R. Rumble (ed.), *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer 2006, 71–99.
- Coatsworth, Elizabeth 2007: Cushioning Medieval Life: Domestic Textiles in Anglo-Saxon England, in Robin Netherton, Gale R. Owen-Crocker (ed.), *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* vol. 3, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1–12.
- Cohen, Mark P. 2005: *Unter Kreuz und Halbmond – Die Juden im Mittelalter*, München: C. H. Beck.
- Comparetti Matteo, de la Vaissière Etienne (ed.), 2006: *Royal Naurūz in Samarkand*, Proceedings of the conference held in Venice on the pre-Islamic paintings at Afrasiab (RSO Supplementa 1, N. S. vol. 78), Pisa – Roma: Accademia Editoriale.
- Corradini Richard, Diesenberger Max, Reimitz Helmut (ed.), 2003: *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages – Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Crivello, Fabrizio 2001: Gerberto e le arti figurative: opere d'arte e manuscritti miniati attorno a Gerberto d'Aurillac, in Nuvolone 2001, 191–215.
- Crowder, Susannah 2007: Recontextualizing the Performances of the Drogo Sacramentary within Ninth-Century Metz, SITM, XIIth Congress, Lille 2–7 July 2007, <http://sitm2007.vjf.cnrs.fr/pdf/s10-crowder.pdf>, cited March 20, 2009.
- Curta, Florin 2006a: *Apariția Slavilor – Istorie și arheologie la Dunărea de Jos în veacurile VI-VII, Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun* (Rumanian translation of his *Making of the Slavs*, Cambridge University Press 2001).
- Curta, Florin 2006b: *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250* (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Čaplovič Dušan, Doruľa Ján (ed.) 1997: *Central Europe in the eighth to tenth Centuries*, International Scientific Conference, Bratislava, October 2–4, 1995, Bratislava: Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic – Slovak Academy of Sciences.
- Čiháková, Jarmila 1997: Sdělení o archeologickém a palynologickém výzkumu v Praze-Malé Straně (čp. 259/III) [A communication on archaeological and palynological investigations at Praha-Malá Strana, No. 259/III], in J. Kubková, J. Klápště, M. Ježek, P. Meduna et al. (ed.): *Život v archeologii středověku – sborník příspěvků věnovaných Miroslavu Richterovi a Zdeňku Smetánkovi*. Praha: Nakladatelství PERES a Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 120–129.
- Čilinská, Zlata 1996: *Avari v karpatskej kotline (história, kultúra, interetnické vzťahy)* [The Avars in the Carpathian basin – History, culture, interethnic relations], *Študijné zvesti Archeologického ústavu Slovenskej akadémie vied* 32, 159–170.
- Čtverák Vladimír, Lutovský Michal, Slabina Miloslav, Smejtek Lubor 2003: *Encyklopedie hradišť v Čechách* [Encyclopaedia of walled sites in Bohemia], Praha: LIBRI.
- Čulíková, Věra 2003: Rostlinné makrozbytky z raně středověkého hradu Stará Boleslav – předběžná zpráva [Plant macro-remains from the early medieval castle of Stará-Boleslav – A preliminary report], in Iva Boháčová (ed.), *Stará Boleslav – Přemyslovský hrad v raném středověku* (Medievalia Archaeologica 5), Praha: Archeologický ústav AV ČR 2003, 367–379.
- Dalton, George 1971a: *Economic Anthropology and Development: Essays on Tribal and Peasant Economies*, Basic Books, New York / London.

- Dalton, George 1971b: *Economic Development and Social Change: The Modernization of Village Communities*, The Natural Press. 1971. Garden City, New York.
- Dannheimer, Herrmann 2006: Porfido rosso, Porfido verde und Verde antico, Exotische Steine aus dem frühmittelalterlichen Bayern, 'Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter' 71, 283–291.
- Daryaee, Touraj 2007: Kingship in Early Sasanian Iran, in V. Curtis Sarkhosh and S. Stewart (ed.), *The Idea of Iran: The Early Sasanians*, London: I.B. Tauris, 40–50, in <http://www.humanities.uci.edu/sasanika/pdf/e-sasanika9-emrani.pdf>, cited March 12, 2009.
- Dekan Ján 1981: *Velká Morava, Doba a umění* [Great Moravia – Age and art], Praha: Odeon.
- Deliyannis, Deborah M. 1996: Agnellus of Ravenna and Iconoclasm: Theology and Politics in Ninth-Century Historical Context, *Speculum* 71/3, 559–576.
- Demińska, Maria 1977: *Day ut ia pobrusa a ti poziwai* ['Let me do the milling, and you take rest'], 'Kwartalnik historii kultury materialnej' XXV/4, 499–506.
- Dobrev, Peter 2003: The Inscriptions in Proto-Bulgarian language discovered by Prof. V. Beshevliev and the origin of the Protobulgarians, in *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia*, В чест на професор Веселин Бешевлиев, Sofia: Tangra, 385–390.
- Driscoll, Stephen T. 1998: Political Discourse and the Growth of Christian Ceremonialism in Pictland: the Place of the St Andrews Sarcophagus, in S. Foster (ed.), *The St Andrews Sarcophagus – A Pictish masterpiece and its international connections*, Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 168–178.
- Droberjar, Eduard 2005: *Věk barbarů – České země a stěhování národů; z pohledu archeologie* [The age of the barbarians – Czech lands and the Migration of peoples from the viewpoint of archaeology], Praha a Litomyšl: Paseka.
- Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben – das Weltreich der Mongolen*, výstavní katalog, München: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Hirmer Verlag GmbH 2005.
- Dufour, Jacques 1998: Le rôle des reines de France aux IXe et Xe siècles, in *Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres, comptes-rendus des séances de l'année 1998, fascicule III, juillet-octobre*, Paris: de Boccard, 913–932.
- Dufourcq, Charles-Emmanuel 1978: *La vie quotidienne dans l'Europe médiévale sous domination arabe*, Paris: Hachette.
- The Encyclopaedia of Islam: The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, esp. vols. I–X, Leiden: E. J. Brill 1986–1990, especially these articles: E. Lévi-Provençal: Abd al-Rahmán, vol. I pp. 81–84; L. Torres Balbás: Al-Andalús, vol. II pp. 489–501; W. Barthold, P. B. Golden: Khazar, vol. IV pp. 1172–1181; L. Molina: Umayyads, vol. X pp. 840–853.
- Erhart, Adolf 1998: Odkud máme jméno? K původu etnonyma Čech [Whence our name? On the origin of the ethnonym 'Czech'], 'Slavia' 67, 289–294.
- Evans, Helen C., Wixom, William D. (ed.), 1997: *The Glory of Byzantium – Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A. D. 843–1261*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Fahr-Becker, Gabriele (ed.), 2007: *The Art of East Asia*, s.l.: Tandem Verlag GmbH.
- Fauvarque, Bernard 2001: Sylvestre II et Othon III: politique, réforme et utopie, aspects eschatologiques, in *Nuvolone* 2001, 545–506.
- Ferreiro, Alberto 1995: Braga and Tours: Some Observations on Gregory's *De virtutibus sancti Martini* (1.11), *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3: 2 (The Johns Hopkins University Press), 195–210.
- Fridrich, Jan (ed.), 1994: 25 years of archaeological research in Bohemia, *Památky archeologické – Supplementum 1*, Prague.
- Fries-Knobloch, Janine 2006: Hausbau und Siedlungen der Bajuwaren bis zur Urbanisierung, 'Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter' 71, 359–430.

- Frolík, Jan 2000: 10.02.01, Modell der Prager Burg um 1000, in Wieczorek-Hinz 2000 (Katalog), 253.
- Frolík, Jan 2001: Nejstarší církevní architektura na Pražském hradě.- současný stav poznání [The earliest ecclesiastical architecture on the Prague Castle – the present state of knowledge], in L. Galuška, P. Kouřil, Zd. Měřinský (edd.), Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem, Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké konference, Uherské Hradiště, Staré Město 28. 9. – 1. 10. 1999, Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno, 107–113.
- Frolík, Jan 2002: Prag und die Prager Burg im 10. Jahrhundert, in Joachim Henning (ed.), Europa im 10. Jahrhundert, Archäologie einer Aufbruchszeit (Internationale Tagung in Vorbereitung der Ausstellung 'Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg und Europa'), Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 161–169.
- Frolík Jan, Smetánka Zdeněk 1997: Archeologie na Pražském hradě [Archaeology on the Prague Castle], Praha a Litomyšl: Paseka.
- Frolík, Jan et al. 2009: Jan Frolík, Jana Maříková-Kubková, Kateřina Tomková, Iva Herichová, Josef Matíášek: Pražský hrad – poklady archeologie [Prague Castle – Treasures of archaeology], 'Historická revue' (Bratislava) XX/1, 6–45.
- Frye, Richard N. (ed.), 1973: Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr: Seals, Sealings and Coins, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- Fuchs Karlheinz (ed.), 1997: Die Alamannen, Ausstellungskatalog, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss.
- Frye, Richard N. (ed.), 1973: Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr: Seals, Sealings and Coins, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Gaborit-Chopin Danielle, Taburet-Delahaye Elisabeth, Bardoz Marie-Cécile (ed.), 2001: Le trésor de Conques, Exposition du 2 novembre 2001 au 11 mars 2002, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Gabriel, Ingo 1986: 'Imitatio imperii' am slawischen Fürstenhof zu Starigard / Oldenburg (Holstein), 'Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt' 16, 357–367.
- Galkina, Jelena Sergejevna (Галкина, Е. С.) 2006: Kavkazskije vojny VII-VIII vv. i vozni-knovenije Chazarii [Caucasian seventh to eighth-century wars and the emergence of Khazaria], 'Vostok – Oriens' 2006, No. 4, pp. 5–20.
- Gignoux Philippe, Gyselen Rika 1992: Une collection d'empreintes de sceaux sassanides, 'Studia Iranica' 21, 49–56.
- Glazyrina, G. V., Džakson, T. N. (ed.), 1987: Drevnerusskiye goroda v drevneskandin-avskoy pis'mennosti – Texty, perevod, kommentariy [Old Russian cities and towns in Old Scandinavian literature – texts, translation, commentary], Moskva: 'Nauka'.
- Goetz Hans-Werner, Jarnut Jörg, Pohl Walter (ed.), 2003: Regna and Gentes – The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World, Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Goldberg, Eric J. 2006: Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict Under Louis the German, 817–876, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, accessible from http://books.google.cz/books?id=oyiTg0wgl58C&pg=PA139&lpg=PA139&dq=%22Regensburg+Bohemian+January+13+845%22&source=bl&ots=V5trsmcDr2&sig=fgKs7qQJoJhQDz12fnuwqO79uQ&hl=cs&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=3&ct=result, cited January 3rd, 2009.
- Golden, Peter B. 2004: Review of de la Vaissière 2002, in Journal of the American Oriental Society 124/1, 173–176.
- Golden, Peter B. 2006: Some Thoughts on the Origins of the Turks and the Shaping of the Turkic Peoples, in Victor H. Mair (ed.), Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 136–157.
- Gray, Nicolette 1948: The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions in the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Centuries in Italy, Papers of the British School at Rome vol. XVI (New Series, vol. III), 38–163.

- Gubaev A. G., Loginov S. D., Nikitin A. B. 1996: Sasanian Bullae from the Excavations of Ak-Depe by the Station of Artyk, 'Iran' XXXIV, 55–60.
- Guyotjeannin Olivier, Poulle Emmanuel (ed.), 1996: Autour de Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil, Album de documents commentés, Paris: Ecole des Chartes.
- Gyselen, Rika 1990: Note sur les 'anneaux à trois pendentifs' dans la glyptique sassanide, 'Studia Iranica' 19/2, 205–208.
- Gyselen, Rika 1995: Sceaux magiques en Iran sassanide, Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes.
- Hammer, Carl I. 2002: A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages – Slaves and their families in early medieval Bavaria, Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Handley, Mark A. 2003: Death, Society, and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750 (BAR International Series 1135), Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Hardt, Matthias 2003a: The nomad's greed for gold: From the fall of the Burgundians to the Avar treasure, in Corradini-Diesenberger-Reimitz 2003, 95–107.
- Hardt, Matthias 2003b: The Bavarians, in Goetz-Jarnut-Pohl 2003, 429–461.
- Haubrichs, Wolfgang 2005: Amalgamierung und Identität. Personennamen in Mythos und Herrschaft, in Pohl-Erhart 2005, 67–99.
- Hebei: Treasures from Hebei Provincial Museum, Hebei: Cultural Relics Publishing House 1999.
- Heger, Ladislav (transl. et ed.), 1967: Sága o svatém Olavu [The Saga of Saint Olaf], Praha: Lidová demokracie.
- Hegewisch, Morten (ed.), 2008: Die Langobarden – das Ende der Völkerwanderungszeit, Katalog zur Ausstellung im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn 22. 8. 2008 – 11. 1. 2009, Bonn-Darmstadt: Landschaftsverband Rheinland / Rheinisches Landesmuseum und Primus Verlag.
- Helinski, Eugene 2000: On probable Tunguz-Manchurian origin of the Buyla inscription from Nagy-Szentmiklós, 'Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia' 5, 2000, 43–56.
- Henning, Jens 1992: Gefangenenfessel im slawischen Siedlungsraum und der europäische Sklavenhandel im 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert, 'Germania' 70/2, 403–426.
- Herrmann, Heinrich – von Wilkens, Leonie 1989: Nr. 33, 34, 35 and 36, in Ratisbona Sacra – Das Bistum Regensburg im Mittelalter, Ausstellung 1250 Jahre Bistums Regensburg, 739–1989, München-Zürich: Verlag Schnell und Steiner, 56–60.
- Hertl, Jan 1964: Blanická pověst, její zdroje a proměny [The Blaník saga, its sources and transformations], 'Sborník vlastivědných prací z Podblanicka' 5, 121–154.
- Himmelová, Zdenka 1995: Glasfunde aus Mikulčice, in F. Daim, L. Poláček (ed.), Studien zum Burgwall von Mikulčice I, Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik Brno, 83–112.
- Hinnels, John R. 2006: IV. Myths and Legends, in Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), Encyclopaedia Iranica XIII/3 (Iran II – Iranian History – Iran V: Peoples of Iran), New York: The Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 307–321.
- Hledíková, Zdeňka 1979: Ještě k počátkům blanické pověsti [More on the origins of the Blaník saga], 'Sborník vlastivědných prací z Podblanicka' 20, 121–140.
- Hodges, Richard 1986: Dark Age Economics – The Origins of Towns and Trade A. D. 600–1000, London: Duckworth.
- Hodges Richard, Whitehouse David 1996: Mahomet, Charlemagne et les origines de l'Europe (Réalités byzantines 5), Paris: Editions P. Lethielleux.
- Hoffmann, Dietrich 1963: Die spätrömische Soldatengrabschriften von Concordia, Museum Helveticum – Schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft 20, 22–57.
- Hošek Jiří, Profantová Naďa, Šilhová Alena, Ottenwelter Estelle 2007: Bohemian so-called surgical early medieval knives, in 'Acta Metallurgica Slovaca' 13, 932–937.
- Ivanišević Vujadin, Kazanski Michel, Mastykova Anna 2006: Les nécropoles de Viminacium à l'époque des grandes migrations, Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance.

- Yatsenko, S. A. 2006: *Kost'yum drevney Jevrazii – iranoyazichnye narody* [The attire of ancient Eurasia – Iranian-speaking peoples], Moscow: 'Vostochnaya literatura', Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Jisl, Lumír 1997: The Orkhon Türks and Problems of the Archaeology of the Second Eastern Türk Kaghanate, edited by Jiří Šíma and Věra Jislová, 'Annals of the Náprstek Museum' 18, 4–112.
- Kahl, Hans-Dietrich 2005: Kultbilder im Vorchristlichen Slawentum, Sondierungsgänge an Hand eines Marmorfragments aus Kärnten mit Ausblicken auf den Quellenwert von Schriftzeugnissen des 8. – 12. Jh., *Mythologia Slavica* VIII, 9–55.
- Kalferst Jiří, Profantová Nad'a 1999: Nové poznatky o hradišti Kal, okr. Jičín [New evidence on the hill-fort of Kal, district of Jičín], in 'Archeologie ve středních Čechách' 3/2, K počtě 65. narozenin Jiřího Slámy, 293–335.
- Kalus, Ludvík 1996: Sources arabes et persanes pour l'étude de l'histoire médiévale du monde slave occidental, in Charvát-Prosecký 1996, 126–139.
- Kandert, Josef 1990: Rané české státy (konec 9. stol. až 1. polovina 11. stol) [Early states of Bohemia – end of the ninth through half of the eleventh-century], *Studie z obecné etnografie I*, Praha: Československá akademie věd, Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku.
- Kaplony, Andreas 1996: Routen, Anschlussrouten, Handelshorizonte im Brief von Hasdāy ben Šaprūt an den hazarischen König, in Charvát-Prosecký 1996, 140–168.
- Kašpar, Vojtěch 1994: Akulturační procesy v období avarského kaganátu na území severně od Dunaje [Acculturation processes in the age of the Avar kaganate north of the Danube], in *Miscellanea Archaeologica a discipulis J. Slámae dedicata*, Prague: Universitas Carolina, 46–65.
- Kazanski, Michel 1992: *Les arctoi gentes et 'l'empire' de Hermanaric*, 'Germania' 70/1, 1992, 75–122.
- Kazanski Michel, Mastykova Anna 1999: Les contacts entre la Gaule du Nord et la côte sud-est de la mer Baltique durant l'époque des grandes migrations et au début de l'époque mérovingienne, in *Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne – Bulletin de liaison* 23, 1999 (XX^e Journées internationales d'archéologie mérovingienne, Namur, Belgique, 8–10 octobre 1999), 61–65.
- Kiss, Etele 2000a: 17.02.02: Bleisiegel König Peters, in *Wieczorek-Hinz 2000 (Katalog)*, 376.
- Kiss, Etele 2000b: 17.02.03: Zitationssiegel König Andreas' I., in *Wieczorek-Hinz 2000 (Katalog)*, 376.
- Klanica, Zdeněk 1972: Předvelkomoravské pohřebiště v Dolních Dunajovicích – Příspěvek k otázce vzájemných vztahů Slovanů a Avarů v Podunají [The pre-Great Moravian cemetery at Dolní-Dunajovice – A contribution on mutual Slav-Avar relations in Danubia], (Studie Archeologického ústavu ČSAV v Brně), Praha: Academia.
- Klanica, Zdeněk 2006: Nechvalín, Prušánky, čtyři slovanská pohřebiště, díl I [Nechvalín, Prušánky, four Slav-period cemeteries], Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno.
- Klápště Jan 2005: Proměna českých zemí ve středověku [Transformation of the Czech lands in the Middle Ages], Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
- Klíma Otakar, Vavroušek Petr 1997: Írán [Iran], in *Duchovní prameny života – Stvoření světa ve starých mýtech a náboženstvích*, Praha: Vyšehrad, 151–229.
- Klyashornyi Sergey G., Sultanov T. I. 2006: *Staaten und Völker in den Steppen Eurasiens, Altertum und Mittelalter*, Berlin: Schletzer.
- Kóčka-Krenz, Hana 1993: *Biżuteria północno-zachodnio-słowiańska we wczesnym średniowieczu* [Northwestern Slav jewellery in the early Middle Ages], Poznań: Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza.
- Kolínsko: Kolínsko, území s archeologickými nálezy, katalog výstavy pořádané Regionálním muzeem Kolín, Okresním úřadem Kolín a Ústavem archeologické památkové péče středních Čech, bez data a místa vydání [The Kolín region – Territory with archaeological finds, Catalogue of an exhibition organized by

- the Regional Museum of Kolín, District office of Kolín, and Institute of Archaeological Antiquities' Service of Central Bohemia, no date, no place], ISBN 80-901612-9-4.
- Koller, Heinrich 1992: König Ludwig der Deutsche und die Slawenmission, in Miloslav Polívka, Michal Svatoš (edd.), *Historia docet – Sborník k počtě šedesátých narozenin prof. PhDr. Ivana Hlaváčka, CSc.*, Praha: Historický ústav, 167–193.
- Košnar, Lubomír 1992: Severní Evropa v raném středověku a vikinská expanze [Northern Europe in the early Middle Ages and the Viking expansion], *Studia Mediaevalia Pragensia III*, Praha: Univerzita Karlova.
- Košnar, Lubomír 1994: Raně středověký depot stříbrných předmětů z Poštorné, okr. Břeclav [An early medieval hoard of silver objects of Poštorná, district of Břeclav], *Praehistorica XXI, Varia Archaeologica 6*, Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 69–103.
- Krumphanzlová, Zdeňka 1985: Zavist-Lgota, rajon Praga-západ – mogil'nik 9 – 10 vv. [Zavist-Lhota, district of Praha-západ – A ninth to tenth-century cemetery], in Z. Váňa, J. Hrala, Z. Smetánka (ed.), *Arkheologicheskiye izucheniya pamyatnikov 6 – 15 vekov v Chekhii 1975–1985 gg. (V kongress Mezhhdunarodnoy unii slavyanskoj arkheologii, Kiev 1985 g.)*, Praga: Institut arkheologii chekhoslovatskoj Akademii Nauk, 130–132.
- Krumphanzlová, Zdeňka 1997: Kultovní místo na pohřebišti v Lahovicích [A cult place at the Lahovice cemetery], in J. Kubková, J. Klápště, M. Ježek, P. Meduna et al. (ed.): *Život v archeologii středověku - sborník příspěvků věnovaných Miroslavu Richterovi a Zdeňku Smetánkovi*. Praha: Nakladatelství PERES a Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 394–401.
- Kubálek Pavel, Stolz Daniel, Sasková Lenka, Vaněk Daniel 2008: Blízkovýchodní haplotyp u pohřbu mladého muže s rozštěpem lebky z raně středověkého pohřebiště na Tetíně [A Near Eastern haplotype in the burial of a young man with a skull fission from the early medieval cemetery at Tetín] *'Archeologie ve středních Čechách' 12/II*, 645–650.
- Kubková, Jana 1997: *Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit*, in J. Kubková, J. Klápště, M. Ježek, P. Meduna et al. (ed.): *Život v archeologii středověku - sborník příspěvků věnovaných Miroslavu Richterovi a Zdeňku Smetánkovi*. Praha: Nakladatelství PERES a Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 402–407.
- Kuna Martin, Profantová Naďa et al. 2005: Počátky raného středověku v Čechách – Archeologický výzkum sídelní aglomerace kultury pražského typu v Roztokách [Beginnings of the early Middle Ages in Bohemia – Archaeological excavations of a settlement agglomeration of the Prague-type culture at Roztoky], Praha: Archeologický ústav AV ČR.
- Kuthan, Jiří 2008: Pečetě posledních Přemyslovců [Seals of the last Přemyslids], in Jiří Kuthan, *Splendor et gloria regni Bohemiae – Umělecké dílo jako projev vládařské reprezentace a symbol státní identity (Opera Facultatis Theologiae catholice Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis – Historia et Historia Artium vol. VII)*, Praha: Ústav dějin křesťanského umění Katolické teologické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze v nakladatelství Tomáš Halama, 153–206.
- Lattin, Harriet Pratt 1961: *The Letters of Gerbert with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Le Jan, Régine 1995: Entre maîtres et dépendants: Reflections sur la famille paysanne en Lotharinge aux IX^e et X^e siècles, in E. Mornet (ed.), *Campagnes médiévales: L'homme et son espace, Etudes offertes à Robert Fossier*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 277–296.
- Lebecq, Stéphane 1996: 'Friesenhandel', in H. Beck, H. Steuer, D. Timpe (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde Bd. 10, Lieferung ½*, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 69–80.
- Leciejewicz, Lech 1997: Great Moravia and Venice in the ninth-century, in Čaplovič-Dorul'a 1997, 115–120.

- Little, Charles T., 1997: No. 337. Christ Blessing Emperor Otto II and Empress Theophano, in Evans - Wixom (ed.), 1997, s. 499–501.
- Ludovici, Barbara 1994: Frühmittelalterliche islamische Fayence aus Fulda, 'Germania' 72/2, 612–613.
- Lukonin, Vladimir G. 1979: Iran v III veke – Novyje materialy i opyt istoričeskoj rekonstrukcii [Iran in the third-century A.D. – New materials and the experience of a historical reconstruction], Moskva: 'Nauka'.
- Lutovský, Michal 1996a: Hroby předků – Sonda do života a smrti dávných Slovanů [Graves of the ancestors – A sounding into the life and death of ancient Slavs], Praha: Academia.
- Lutovský, Michal 1996b: Kolínský knížecí hrob: ad fontes [The princely grave at Kolín: *ad fontes*], 'Sborník Národního muzea v Praze' řada A, Historie, XLVIII/3-4, 1994, 37–76.
- Lutovský, Michal 1997: Brandbestattungsritus im frühmittelalterlichen Böhmen: Drei Überlegungen, in J. Kubková, J. Klápště, M. Ježek, P. Meduna et al. (ed.): Život v archeologii středověku - sborník příspěvků věnovaných Miroslavu Richterovi a Zdeňku Smetánkovi. Praha: Nakladatelství PERES a Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 433–438 (reference courtesy of Naďa Profantová).
- Lutovský, Michal 1998: Bratrovrah a tvůrce státu – Život a doba knížete Boleslava I. [A fratricide and a creator of the state – Life and times of Duke Boleslav I], Praha: SET OUT.
- Lutovský, Michal 2005: Praha slovanská [Slav-age Prague], in Lutovský-Smejtek et al. 2005, 842–945.
- Lutovský, Michal 2008: Kolínský knížecí hrob na stránkách pamětní knihy města Kolína (Das Fürstengrab aus Kolín) [The princely grave at Kolín on the pages of the memorial book of the city of Kolín], 'Archeologie ve středních Čechách' 12/II, 625–644.
- Lutovský Michal, Petrů Zdeněk 2004: Slavníkovci – mýtus českého dějepisce [The sons of Slavník – a myth of Bohemian historiography], Praha: LIBRI.
- Lutovský Michal, Smejtek Lubor et al. 2005: Právěká Praha [Prehistoric Prague], Praha: LIBRI.
- Lübke, Christian RGSEO: Regesten zur Geschichte der Slawen an Elbe und Oder (vom Jahre 900 an), Teile I-V, Berlin: Duncker und Humblot 1984 (Teil I), 1985 (II), 1986 (III), 1987 (IV).
- Lübke, Christian 2008: Christianity and Paganism as Elements of Gentile Identities to the East of the Elbe and Saale Rivers, in Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary, Przemysław Urbańczyk (ed.), Franks, Northmen and Slavs, Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe, Turnhout: Brepols, 189–203.
- Machula, Jan 1999: Bohemia during the tenth-century in the light of imports, M. A. Thesis in Medieval Studies, Budapest: Central European University, June 1999. I am grateful to the author for rendering his work accessible to me for study.
- Martindale John Robert, Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, Morris John 1971, 1980, 1992: The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. I - III/A and III/B, A.D. 260–641, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martinez-Gros, Gabriel 1999: Ibn Khaldūn et al Sicile, in Giosuè Musca (ed.), Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall'Europa e dal mondo mediterraneo, Atti delle tredicesime giornate normanno-sveve, bari, 21–24 ottobre 1997 (Centro di studi normanno-svevi, Università degli Studi di Bari), Bari: edizioni Dedalo, 295–326.
- Martiniani-Reber, Marielle 2004: Témoignages textiles des relations entre Egypte et Proche-Orient (VIIe-IXe siècles), 'Antiquité Tardive' 12, 113–119.
- Mathisen, Ralph W. 1997: Barbarian Bishops and the Churches 'in barbaricis gentibus' during Late Antiquity, 'Speculum' 72/3, 664–697.
- Matła-Kozłowska, Marzena 2008: Pierwszi Przemysłidzi i ich państwo (od X do połowy XI wieku), Expansja terytorialna i jej polityczne uwarunkowania (The first Přemyslids

- and their state from the tenth to the middle of the eleventh-century, Territorial expansion and its political conditions), Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
- Matoušek, Václav 2005: Bacín – brána podzemí, Archeologický výzkum pravěké skalní svatyně v Českém krasu [Bacín – a gate to the underworld; Archaeological excavations of a prehistoric rock sanctuary in the Bohemian-Karst region], Praha: Krigl.
- Mayr-Harting, Heinrich 1996: Charlemagne, the Saxons, and the Imperial Coronation of 800, 'English Historical Review' CXI/444. 1113–1133.
- McCormick, Michael 2001: Origins of the European Economy – Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300 – 900, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meduna, Petr 2007: Luba a ti druzí [Luba and the others], in E. Doležalová, R. Šimůnek, D. Dvořáčková, A. Pořízka (ed.), Od knížat ke králům – Sborník u příležitosti 60. narozenin Josefa Žemličky, Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 375–387.
- Melfos, Vasilios 2008: Green Thessalian stone: The Byzantine quarries and the use of a unique architectural material from the Larissa area, Greece, Petroglyphic and geochemical characterization, 'Oxford Journal of Archaeology' 27(4), 387–405.
- Melikian-Chirvani, Asadullah Souren 1991: Les taureaux à voir et les cornes à boire de l'Iran islamique, in Paul Bernard, Frantz Grenet (edd.), Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale pré-islamique (Actes du Colloque international du CNRS, Paris, 22–28 novembre 1988), Paris: Editions du CNRS, 101–128.
- Menghin, Wilfried 1985: Die Langobarden, Archäologie und Geschichte, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag.
- Menghin, Wilfried (ed.) 2007: Эпоха Меровингов - Европа без границ, Археология и история V-VIII вв. – Merowingerzeit – Europa ohne Grenzen, Archäologie und Geschichte des 5. bis 8. Jahrhunderts, Berlin – Wolfenbüttel: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz und Edition Minerva Herrmann Farnung.
- Merkelbach, Reinhold 1984: Mithras, Königstein: Verlag Anton Hein Meissenheim GmbH.
- Měřínský, Zdeněk 2002: České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu I [The Czech lands between the advent of the Slavs and Great Moravia I], Praha: LIBRI.
- Měřínský, Zdeněk 2006: České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II [The Czech lands between the advent of the Slavs and Great Moravia II], Praha: LIBRI.
- Militký, Jiří 2005: Nálezy mincí ze 6.- 7. století v Čechách a na Moravě [Finds of sixth to seventh-century coins in Bohemia and Moravia], in Kuna-Profantová a kol. 2005, 275–286.
- Militký, Jiří 2006: Nový pohled na zlatou byzantskou minci z Libice nad Cidlinou – Příspěvek k problematice nálezů byzantských mincí 9.- 11. století v českých zemích [A new look at the Byzantine gold coin from Libice-nad-Cidlinou – A contribution to the problems of ninth to eleventh-century finds of Byzantine coins in the Czech lands], 'Numismatický sborník' 21, 125–136.
- Mishin, Dmitry 1996: Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub At-Turtushi's Account of the Slavs from the Middle of the Tenth-Century, 'Annual of Medieval Studies at the Central European University' 1994–1995, Budapest : Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 184–199.
- Mishin, Dmitry 1998: The Saqāliba Slaves in the Aghlabid State, 'Annual of Medieval Studies at the Central European University' 1996–1997, Budapest : Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 236–244.
- Morello, Giovanni 1996: No. 14, Boîte-reliquaire, in M. Fleury, G.- M. Leproux, D. Sandron (ed.), Paris de Clovis à Dagobert, Paris: Ville de Paris – Centre culturel du Panthéon, 31–32.
- Mourat, Franck 2001 : Carte archéologique de la Gaule No. 55: La Meuse, s. I.: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Ministère de la recherche, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (sum of archaeological information on the city of Verdun).

- Nazmi, Ahmad 1998: Commercial Relations between Arabs and Slavs (ninth to eleventh centuries), Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie DIALOG (reference courtesy of Prof. Harry Norris).
- Nowakowski, Wojciech (Новаковський, Войцех) 2007: Vostochniye prussi kak svyazuyushcheye zveno mezhdru Vostochnoy i Zapadnoy Yevropy: arkheologicheskiye svidetel'stva V – VIII vv. [Eastern Prussians as a link between Eastern and Western Europe: archaeological testimonies of the fifth to eighth century], in Menghin 2007, 145–155.
- Nový, Rostislav 1968: Die Anfänge des böhmischen Staates I, Praha: Univerzita Karlova (esp. pp. 131–149 with an important analysis of BG).
- Nový Rostislav, Sláma Jiří (ed.) 1987: Slavníkovci ve středověkém písemnictví [The sons of Slavník in medieval literature], Praha: Vyšehrad.
- Numismatické listy 1999: Numismatické listy LIV No. 4, the whole number of this periodical dedicated to the find of a Bohemian (?) lead coin in a tenth-century context at the Volga-river site of Kazan', Tatarstan.
- Nuvolone, Flavio G. (ed.) 2001: Gerberto d'Aurillac da Abbate di Bobbio a Papa dell'Anno 1000, Atti del Congresso internazionale Bobbio, Auditorium di S. Chiara, 28–30 settembre 2000, organizzato da rivista Archivum Bobiense e dall'Università Cattolica di Milano, con la collaborazione del Comune di Bobbio (Archivum Bobiense Studia IV), Bobbio.
- Oexle, Judith 1994: Frühe Kirchen in Sachsen – Ergebnisse archäologischer und baugeschichtlicher Untersuchungen, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag.
- Oikonomides, Nikolaos 1983: Presthlavitzza, the Little Preslav, 'Südost-Forschungen' XLII, 1–9.
- Oikonomides, Nikolaos 1998: L'archonte slave de l'Hellade au VIII^e siècle, 'Vizantinskiy vremennik' 55(80)/2, 111–118.
- Olajos, Theo 1998: Une source inobservée concernant l'histoire des Slaves du Péloponnèse, in G. Kukovetz (ed.), La Méditerranée et l'Europe: Histoire et Politique, Szeged: JATE, 39–44.
- L'Or des princes barbares: L'Or des princes barbares, Du Caucase à la Gaule, V^e siècle après J. C., catalogue of an exhibition, Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux 2000.
- Osman, Ghada 2005: Foreign Slaves in Mecca and Medina in the Formative Islamic Period, in 'Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations' 16/4, 345–359.
- Otavsky, Karel (ed.) 1998: Entlang der Seidenstrasse – Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung (Riggisberger Berichte 6), Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung (reference courtesy of Karel Otavsky).
- Padberg, Leon E. von 1995: Odin oder Christus? Loyalitäts- und Orientierungskonflikte in der frühmittelalterlichen Christianisierungsepoche, 'Archiv für Kulturgeschichte' 77/2, 249–278.
- Panzarasa, Maria P. A. 2001: Adelaide e l'ambiente pavese al tempo di Gerberto, in Nuvolone 2001, 293–373.
- Parisse, Michel 1996: La *Vita* de Jean, abbé de Gorze, in Guyotjeannin-Pouille 1996, 36–42.
- Périn, Patrick 2006: L'archéologie funéraire reflète-t-elle fidèlement la composition et l'évolution de l'armement mérovingin?, in A. Bos, X. Dectot, J.-M. Leniaud, Ph. Plagnieux (ed.), *Materia superabat opus* – Hommage à Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 95–111.
- Périn Patrick, Calligaro Thomas et al. 2005: La tombe d'Arégonde, Nouvelles analyses en laboratoire du mobilier métallique et des restes organiques de la défunte du sarcophage 49 de la basilique de Saint-Denis, 'Antiquités nationales' 37, 181–206.
- Périn Patrick, Feffer Laure-Charlotte (ed.), 1985: La Neustrie – Les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VII^e – IX^e siècles), Rouen: Musée des Antiquités de Seine-Maritime.

- Périn Patrick, Feffer Laure-Charlotte 1987: *Les Francs 1–2 – A la conquête de la Gaule, A l'origine de la France*, Paris: Armand Colin.
- Perkhavko, Vasilii B. 1995: *Letopisnyi Pereyaslavets na Dunae* (Pereyaslavets of the Annals on the Danube, in Russian), in *Drevneyshiye gosudarstva vostochnoy Evropy – materialy i issledovaniya, 1992–1993 gody*, Moskva: 'Nauka', 168–182.
- Peška Jaroslav, Unger Josef 1993: *Jungburgwallzeitliche Befestigung bei Dürnholz, Bez. Břeclav (Lundenburg) in Mähren*, 'Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich' 9, 139–145.
- Petráň, Zdeněk 1998: *První české mince* [The first coins of Bohemia], Praha: SET OUT.
- Petráň Zdeněk 2006: *Mincovníctví Slavníkovce Soběslava – Geneze jednoho numismatického omylu* [The minting of Soběslav, son of Slavník – The genesis of a numismatic error], 'Numismatický sborník' 21, 57–82.
- Petrosyan, Armen 2006: *Haldi and Mithra/Mher**, 'Aramazd' I (Yerevan, ISBN 99930-2-402-3), 222–238.
- Pfister, Christian 1972 [1902]: *L'archevêque de Metz Drogon (823–856)*, in *Mélanges Paul Fabre, Genève 1972* [reprint of the original edition, Paris 1902], 101–145.
- Piech, Zenon 1993: *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów* [Iconography of the Piast-dynasty seals], Kraków: Universitas.
- Pič, Josef Ladislav 1909: *Starožitnosti země České III/1: České země za doby knížecí* [Antiquities of the land of Bohemia III/1: The Czech lands in the ducal period], Praha: Nákladem České akademie císaře Františka Josefa I. pro vědy, slovesnost a umění.
- Pietri, Luce 1983: *La ville de Tours du IV^e au VI^e siècle: Naissance d'une cité chrétienne*, Rome: Ecole française de Rome, Palais Farnèse.
- Plassmann, Allheydis 2006: *Origo gentis – Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Pohl, Walter 1988: *Die Awaren – Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.*, München: C. H. Beck.
- Pohl Walter, Erhart Peter (ed.), 2005: *Die Langobarden – Herrschaft und Identität*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Polanský, Luboš 2001: *Streit um die Herkunft der böhmischen Fürstin Emma*, in *Sommer 2001*, 43–78.
- Poleski, Jacek 1997: *Kleinpolen im 8.- 10. Jahrhundert – Bemerkungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Kleinpolen und Böhmen, Mähren, Slowakei und Ungarn*, in *Čaplovič-Doruľa 1997*, 15–26.
- Porter Venetia, Ager Barry 1999: *Islamic amuletic seals: The case of the Carolingian cross brooch from Ballycotton*, in Rika Gyselen (ed.), *La science des cieux, sages, mages, astrologues*, Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Etude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient (Res Orientales XII), 211–218.
- Profantová, Nad'a 1989: *Dvě rané středověká kování z Pražského hradu* [Two early medieval metal fittings from Prague Castle], 'Archeologické rozhledy' 41, 601–613.
- Profantová, Nad'a 1991: *Přínos archeologie k poznání českých dějin devátého století* [The contribution of archaeology to the knowledge of ninth-century Bohemian history], *Studia Mediaevalia Pragensia II*, Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 29–60.
- Profantová, Nad'a 1992: *Awarische Funde aus den Gebieten nördlich der awarischen Siedlungsgrenzen*, in F. Daim (ed.), *Awarenforschungen Band 2* (Archaeologia Austriaca, Monographien 1, Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren 4), Wien: Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Wien, 605–801.
- Profantová, Nad'a 1997: *On the archaeological evidence for Bohemia elites of the eighth and ninth-century*, in *Čaplovič-Doruľa 1997*, 105–114.
- Profantová, Nad'a 1998: *Zum Fund eines eisernen Riemenzeugbeschlages und zur Datierung des Burgwalls bei Žinkovy, Bez. Plzeň-Süd, in Saarbrücker Studien und Materialien zur Altertumskunde 6/7, 1997/98*, 315–324.

- Profantová, Nad'a 1999: Zum gegenwärtigen Erkenntnisstand der frühmittelalterlichen Besiedlung des Burgwalls Šárka (Gem. Dolní Liboc, Prag 6), 'Památky archeologické' 90, 65–106.
- Profantová, Nad'a 2000a: Slovanské výšinné sídliště z Třebovle, okr. Kolín. K problému napodobování cizích předloh v keramice [The Slav-age hill-top settlement at Třebovle, district of Kolín; On the problem of imitation of foreign models in pottery], 'Archeologické rozhledy' 52, 647–664.
- Profantová, Nad'a 2000b: Stará Kouřim, Bez. Kolín, Grab 106 b (Tschechien), in Wiczorek-Hinz 2000, 214–218.
- Profantová, Nad'a 2001: K průniku franského životního stylu do Čech 9. století (na základě poznatků archeologie) [On the penetration of Frankish life style into Bohemia in the ninth-century, on the basis of archaeological evidence], in L. Galuška, P. Kouřil, Zd. Měřinský (ed.), Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem, Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké konference, Uherské Hradiště, Staré Město 28. 9. – 1. 10. 1999, Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno, 327–338.
- Profantová Nad'a, Kalferst Jiří 1999: Nové poznatky o hradišti Kal, okr. Jičín [Neue Erkenntnisse über den Burgwall Kal, bez. Jičín], in 'Archeologie ve středních Čechách' 3/2, 293–335.
- Profantová Nad'a, Macháček Jiří 2000: Das Fürstengrab von Kolín, in Wiczorek-Hinz 2000, 219–226.
- Profantová Nad'a, Militký Jiří 2000: Das 'Fürstinnengrab' von Želénky, in Wiczorek-Hinz 2000, 188–192.
- Profantová Nad'a, Novák Vlastimil 2005: Umajjovská měděná mince z Čelákovic (okr. Praha-východ) [The Umayyad copper coin of Čelákovice, district of Praha-východ], 'Numismatický sborník' 20, 21–28.
- Putík, Alexandr 1996: Notes on the name GBLYM in Hasdai's letter to the Khaqan of Khazaria, in Charvát-Prosecký 1996, 169–175.
- Questiones No. 5: Questiones medii aevi novae, vol. 5, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2000, the entire number of this periodical being dedicated to 'Tenth-Century – Roma, Galia, Germania, Sclavinia'.
- Rehder, Paul (ed.), 1998: Einführung in die slawische Sprachen, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung.
- Ribaud, Krishna 1991: Deux documents écrits sur soie datant de la dynastie Han, in P. Bernard, F. Grenet (ed.), Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique (Actes du Colloque International du CNRS, Paris, 22–28 novembre 1988), Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S., 289–294.
- Richter, Michael 1996: Irland im Mittelalter – Kultur und Geschichte, München: Verlag C. H. Beck.
- Romeny, Bas ter Haar 2005: From Religious Association to Ethnic Community: a Research Project on Identity Formation among the Syrian Orthodox under Muslim Rule, Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 16/4, 377–399.
- Rouche, Michel (ed.), 1997: Clovis - Histoire et mémoire I-II, Actes du Colloque International d'Histoire de Reims, Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris – Sorbonne.
- Ruhe, Dorothea 1993: Gelehrtes Wissen, 'Aberglaube' und pastorale Praxis im französischen Spätmittelalter: Der *Second Lucidaire* und seine Rezeption (14.- 17. Jh.), Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Russel, James R. 1987: Zoroastrianism in Armenia, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, National Association for Armenian Studies and Research (reference courtesy of Touraj Daryayee).
- Russel, James R. 2004: Armenian and Iranian Studies, Cambridge (MA): Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the Harvard University, and Armenian Heritage Press, National Association for Armenian Studies and Research.
- Sasse, Barbara 1982: Die Sozialstruktur Böhmens in der Frühzeit – Historisch-archäologische Untersuchungen zum 9.- 12. Jahrhundert (Berliner historische

- Studien, hrsg. von Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Band 7, Germania Slavica IV), Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.
- Sasse, Barbara 1990: Frauengräber im frühmittelalterlichen Alamannien, in W. Affeldt, U. Vorwerk (ed.), *Frauen in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter, Lebensbedingungen – Lebensnormen – Lebensformen*, Beiträge zu einer internationaler Tagung am Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin, 18. bis 21. Februar 1987, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 45–64.
- Schmithausen, Leonard 1997: *Maitri and Magic: Aspects of the Buddhist Attitude Toward the Dangerous in Nature*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 652. Bd., Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (p. 28 on Mithra).
- Schütz, Joseph 1996: Die Deutung alterfränkischer Bezeichnungen: Ortsname Vuogastisburc – ostarstuopha – Ortsname Truosnasteti, 'Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung' 56, 111–122.
- Seeck, Otto 1876: *Notitia Dignitatum*, Berolini, apud Weidmannos.
- Shaked, Saul 1995: Jewish Sasanian Sigillography, in R. Gyselen (ed.), *Au carrefour des religions – Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux*, Bures-sur-Yvette: Goupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 239–256.
- Shalem, Avinoam 1994: The Fall of al-Madā'in: Some Literary References Concerning Sasanian Spoils of War in Mediaeval Islamic Treasuries, 'Iran' XXXII, 77–81.
- Shchukin, M. B. 2007: *Avary, bolgari i srokrovishche iz sela Malaya Pereshchepina (Avars, Bulgars and the hoard find from the Malaya Pereshchepina village)*, in Menghin 2007, 83–93.
- Simmons, Victoria 2006: Sovereignty myth, in John T. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture – A Historical Encyclopaedia vols. I-V*, Santa Barbara, CA – Denver, CO – Oxford, UK: ABC-CLIO, vol. IV, pp. 1621–1622.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas 1976: Cutswith, seventh-century abbess of Inkberrow near Worcester, and the Würzburg manuscript of Jerome on Ecclesiastes, in 'Anglo-Saxon England' 5, Cambridge, 1–21.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas 1991: Mithra the Baga, in Paul Bernard, Frantz Grenet (ed.), *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique (Actes du Colloque International du CNRS, Paris, 22–28 novembre 1988)*, Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S., 177–186.
- Sklenář, Karel 1985: *Původní zpráva o výzkumu slovanské knížecí mohyly u Želének v roce 1850* [The original report on excavation of the Slav princely barrow by Želénky in 1850], 'Časopis Národního muzea, řada historická' CLIV/2, 61–81.
- Sklenář, Karel 2003: *Bohové, hroby a učitelé – Cesty českých spisovatelů do pravěku* [Gods, graves and teachers – Voyages of Bohemian writers into prehistory], Praha: LIBRI.
- Sláma, Jiří 1977: *Mittelböhmen im frühen Mittelalter*, Praha: Univerzita Karlova.
- Sláma, Jiří 1985: *K některým ekonomickým projevům raně středověkého přemyslovského státu* [On some economic phenomena in the life of the early medieval Přemyslid state], 'Archeologické rozhledy' 37, 334–342.
- Sláma, Jiří 1988: *Střední Čechy v raném středověku – III. Archeologie o počátcích přemyslovského státu* [Central Bohemia in the early Middle Ages III – Archaeology on the beginnings of the Přemyslid state], Praha: Univerzita Karlova.
- Słownik starożytności słowiańskich: Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* [Dictionary of Slav antiquities], vol. I-VIII, Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych do schyłku wieku XII, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1961 (ed. 1962) – 1991.
- Šlupecki, Leszek Paweł 2006: The Temple in Rhetra-Riedegost, West Slavic pagan ritual as described at the beginning of the eleventh-century, in Anders Andrén, Kristina Jennbert, Catharina Raudvere (ed.), *Old Norse Religion in Long Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes and Interactions*, an International Conference in Lund, Sweden,

- June 3–7, 2004, Nordic Academic Press, 224–228, on p. 225, accessible from: http://books.google.com/books?id=gjq6rvoIRpAC&pg=PA225&lpg=PA225&dq=Svarozic&source=bl&ots=dop9ruXD8g&sig=O4lqnxP3O8Ch3bVISOklMR-LEAQ&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=7&ct=result, cited January 26th, 2009.
- Smetánka, Zdeněk 2003: Archeologické study – Osmnáct kapitol o poznávání středověku [Archaeological studies – Eighteen chapter on the study of the Middle Ages], Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
- Sommer, Petr (ed.), 2001: Boleslav II., Der tschechische Staat um das Jahr 1000, Internationales Symposium, Praha 9.- 10. Februar 1999, Praha: Filosofia – ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ Verlag.
- Sommer Petr, Třeštitk Dušan, Žemlička Josef, Mašková Pavlína, Novotný Robert (ed.), 2009: Přemyslovci – Budování českého státu [The Přemyslids – Building up the Bohemian state], Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
- Sommer Petr, Třeštitk Dušan, Žemlička Josef, Opačić Zoë 2007: Bohemia and Moravia, in Nora Berend (ed.), Christianization and the rise of Christian monarchy – Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200, Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 214–262.
- Sołtysiak, Arkadiusz 2006: The plague pandemic and Slavic expansion in the sixth to eighth centuries, 'Archaeologia Polona' 44, 339–364.
- Somogyi, Péter 2008: New remarks on the flow of Byzantine coins in Avaria and Walachia during the second half of the seventh-century, in Florin Curta, Roman Kovalev (ed.): The Other Europe in the Middle Ages – Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 83–149.
- Stadler, Peter et al. 2003: Ein Beitrag zur Absolutchronologie der Langobarden aufgrund von C-14 Datierungen..., 'Archaeologia Austriaca' 87, 265–278.
- Stern, Henri 1953: Le calendrier de 354 – Etude sur son texte et sur ses illustrations, Paris: Imperimerie nationale – Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Steuer, Heiko 1994: Archäologie und germanische Sozialgeschichte – Forschungstendenzen in den 1990er Jahren, in Runische Schriftkultur in kontinental-skandinavischer und kontinental-angelsächsischer Wechselbeziehung, Internationales Symposium in der Werner-Reimers-Stiftung vom 24.-27. Juni 1992 in Bad Homburg, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 10–55.
- Struck, Wolfgang-H. 1990: Nachträge zu Konrad Kurzbold, Gaugraf des Niederlahngaus und Gründer des Stifts St. Georg in Limburg an der Lahn (+ 948), 'Nassauische Annalen' 101, 1–6.
- Swoboda, Wincenty 1991: Vrap (Vrapi), in Słownik starożytności słowiańskich, sv. VIII, Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych do schyłku wieku XII, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1991, 598–599.
- Szameit, Erich 1993: Das frühmittelalterliche Grab von Grabelsdorf bei St. Kanzian am Klopeinersee, Kärnten, 'Archaeologia Austriaca' 77, 213–234.
- Šedínová, Jiřina 1996: Life and language in Bohemia as reflected in the works of the Prague Jewish school in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in Charvát-Prosecký 1996, 207–216.
- Šolle Miloš 1984: Staroslovanské hradisko – charakteristika, funkce, vývoj a význam [Old Slav walled sites – characteristics, functions, development and significance], Praha: Vyšehrad.
- Štefan Ivo 2004: Kaptorgy: pokus o kontextuální analýzu [The kaptorga lockets, an attempt at contextual analysis], Studia Mediaevalia Pragensia 5, 21–60.
- Štefan, Ivo s. d.: Změna pohřebního ritu v raném středověku jako archeologický a kulturně-antropologický problém [Change of the burial rite in the early Middle Ages as an archaeological and cultural-anthropological problem], no date, accessible from: <http://uprav.ff.cuni.cz/pages/publikace/stefan1.pdf>, cited March 3rd, 2009.

- Štih, Peter 2006: *Glossen zu einer neuen Monographie über Karantanien*, 'Carinthia' 196/I, 2006, 99–126 (review article of Hans-Dietrich Kahl, *Der Staat in Karantanien*, Lyublyana 2002).
- Tomková, K. (ed.), 2005: *Pohřívání na Pražském hradě a jeho předpolích* [Burying the dead at the Prague castle and in its vicinity], Díl I.1. Praha (ARÚP – ÚAPPSC Praha, *Castrum Pragense* 7).
- Trubačev, O. N. 1982: *Jazykoznanije i etnogenez Slavjan. Drevnije Slavjane po dannym etimologii i onomastiki*, 'Voprosy jazykoznanija' 1982, č. 5, 3–17.
- Trugly, Sándor 2008: *Pohrebisko šľachtickej vrstvy při Lodeniciach v Komárne z doby avarskej ríše* [Cemetery of an aristocratic social stratum by Lodenice in Komárno from the times of the Avar empire], in Molnár Attila, Nagy Andrea, Tomka Péter (edd.), *Prišli a odišli – Langobardi a Avari na Podunajskej nížine*, Győr: A Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Múzeumok Kiállítás-vezetője 3, 199–216.
- Třeštík, Dušan 1992: *Cesta Ibrahima ibn Jakuba do Prahy v roce 966* [The voyage of Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub to Prague in 966], 'Dějiny a současnost' 5/92, ročník 14, 9–13.
- Třeštík, Dušan 1997: *Počátky Přemyslovců – Vstup Čechů do dějin (530–935)* [Beginnings of the Přemyslids – The entry of Bohemians into history], Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
- Třeštík, Dušan 2001: 'Eine grosse Stadt der Slawen namens Prag' (Staaten und Sklaven in Mitteleuropa im 10. Jahrhundert), in Sommer 2001, 93–138.
- Třeštík, Dušan 2003: *Mýty kmene Čechů (7.- 10. století)*, *Tři studie ke 'Starým pověstem českým'* [Myths of the tribe of Czechs, seventh to tenth-century: Three studies on the 'Ancient sagas of Bohemia'], Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
- Turek Rudolf, 1963: *Čechy na úsvitě dějin* [Bohemia at the dawn of history], Praha: Orbis.
- Turek Rudolf 1982: *Čechy v raném středověku* [Bohemia in the early Middle Ages], Praha: Věšhrad.
- Ungermann, Šimon 2006: *Tzv. předkóttlašský horizont a počátky velkomoravského kostrového pohřívání* [The so-called pre-Kóttlach horizon and the beginnings of the Great Moravian inhumation burials], *Archaeologia Historica* 31, 351–369.
- de la Vaissière, Etienne 2002: *Histoire des marchands sogdiens*, Paris: Collège de France, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises.
- Vašica, Josef 1960: *Církevněslovanský penitenciál českého původu* [An Old Church Slavonic penitential of Bohemian origin], 'Slavia' 29, 31–48.
- Verbecken-Lammens Chris, De Moor Antoine, Overlaet Bruno 2006: *Radio-Carbon dated Silk Road samites in the collection of Katoen Natie*, Antwerp, 'Iranica Antiqua' 41, 233–301.
- Verlinden, Charles 1977: *Lesclavage dans l'Europe médiévale II*, Gent: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent.
- Vermasseren, Maarten 1960: *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae*, Hagae Comititis: Martinus Nijhoof.
- Vierck, Hayo 1981: *Imitatio imperii und Interpretatio Germanica vor der Wikingerzeit*, in *Les pays du Nord et Byzance*, Uppsala, 64–113.
- Vor dem Jahr 1000: *Vor dem Jahr 1000 – Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der kaiserin Theophanu*, Köln: Stadt Köln 1991.
- Vroom, Joanita 2003: *After Antiquity – Ceramics and society in the Aegean from the seventh to the twentieth-century A. C.*, A case study from Boeotia, central Greece (Archaeological Studies Leiden University 10), Leiden: Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.
- Ward-Perkins, Bryan 2005: *The fall of Rome and the end of civilization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- White, Lynn T., Jr. 1962: *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Oxford: University Press.

- White, Lynn T., Jr. 1978: *Medieval Religion and Technology* (University of California Press, 1978), collection of nineteen of his papers published elsewhere between 1940–1975.
- Wieczorek Alfried, Hinz Hans-Martin (ed.), 2000: *Europas Mitte um 1000 – vols. 1–3*, catalogue of an exhibition, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag.
- Wilson, David M. 1984: *Anglo-Saxon Art From The Seventh-Century To The Norman Conquest*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Wolfram, Herwig 1986: Die Bedeutung der Ortsnamenforschung für den Historiker, in H. Feigl (ed.), *Siedlungsnamen und Siedlungsformen als Quellen zur Besiedlungsgeschichte Niederösterreichs*, Wien: Selbstverlag des Niederösterreichischen Instituts für Landeskunde, 1–8.
- Wolfram, Herwig 1995: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich – Die *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*, Wien – München: Oldenbourg Verlag.
- Wood, Ian N. 1994: *Fredegar's Fables*, in A. Scharer, G. Scheibelreiter (ed.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Wien – München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 359–366.
- Woodard, Roger D. 2006: *Indo-European Sacred Space – Vedic and Roman Cult*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Wunsch, Melanie 2006: Das frühmerowingische 'Fürstengrab' von Mainz-Bretzenheim, 'Mainzer Zeitschrift' 101, 3–28.
- Yeroulanou, Aimilia 1999: *DIATRITA – Gold pierced-work jewellery from the third to the seventh-century*, Athens: Beanki Museum.
- Zaborski, Andrzej (ed.) 2008: *Ibrahim ibn Jakub i Tadeusz Kowalski w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę edycji, Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Kraków, 10 maja 2006 r.* [Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub and Tadeusz Kowalski in the sixtieth anniversary of the edition; materials from a scientific conference, Cracow, May 10th 2006], Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka (reference courtesy of Prof. Andrzej Zaborski).
- Zachová Jana, Třeštků Dušan 2001: *Adhortace De ammonicione ad presbiteros a biskup Vojtěch...* [The adhortation *De ammonicione ad presbiteros* and bishop Vojtěch / Adalbert...], 'Český časopis historický' 99/2, 279–293.
- Zeschick, Joachim 1993: Die Benediktiner in Böhmen und Mähren, in J. Hofmann OSB (ed.), *Tausend Jahre Benediktiner in den Klöstern Břevnov, Braunau und Rohr, St. Ottilien*: EOS Verlag, Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 3–82.
- Zoll-Adamikowa, Helena 1982: Die Überreste der Kremationseinrichtungen auf den frühmittelalterlichen slawischen Gräberfeldern, *AFD Beiheft 17*, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte II, Berlin, 87–96.
- Zavřel Jan, Žegklitz Jaromír 2007: *Zlatý prsten s gemou* [A golden ring with an intaglio], in 'Kámen' 3/2007, 7–11, accessible from: <http://www.revuekamen.cz/zlaty-prsten-s-gemou.htm>, cited September 16, 2008.

References to electronic sources

- http://books.google.com/books?id=gjq6rvoIRpAC&pg=PA225&lpg=PA225&dq=Svarozic&source=bl&ots=dop9ruXDBg&sig=O4lqnxP3O8Ch3bVlSOk1MR-LEAQ&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=7&ct=result, cited March 7, 2009.
- <http://christianization.hist.cam.ac.uk/regions/bohemia/bohemia-aspects-christ.html>, cited June 4th, 2009.
- http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archeologick%C3%BD_v%C3%BDzkum_v_Praze-Zli%C4%8D%C3%ADn%C4%9B, cited January 6, 2009.
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_Amand, cited February 3rd, 2009.
- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emmeram>, cited February 6th, 2009.
- <http://sitm2007.vjf.cnrs.fr/pdf/s10-crowder.pdf>, cited March 20, 2009.

- http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Drogo_Sacramentary, cited January 1, 2009.
- http://www.arup.cas.cz/cz/aktivita/klecany_brandys.html, cited March 12, 2009.
- <http://www.humanities.uci.edu/sasanika/pdf/e-sasanika9-emrani.pdf>, cited March 12, 2009.
- <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/texts/priscus.html>, cited January 20, 2009.
- http://www.pribeh-hradu.cz/data/zpravodaj/Zpravodaj-01-07_def.pdf, cited March 7, 2009.
- <http://www.revuekamen.cz/zlaty-prsten-s-gemou.htm>, cited September 16, 2008.

REGISTER

This register does not include the terms Bohemia, Moravia, Prague, Europe and Asia.

- Aachen, Germany – 178, 183
Abdarrahman III., caliph of al-Andalus – 155–156, 162, 167
Achilles, Greek hero – 92
Adalbero, bishop of Laon – 186
Adalbert, monk and missionary – 174
Adalberto of Ivrea, prince – 184
Adalwald, bishop – 173
Adam and Eve, Old Testament figures – 53
Adelheid, empress – 178, 184, 192
Adriatic sea – 78
Africa – 9
Agathias, a historian – 23
Agilulf, king – 16
Agilulfings – 12, 35, 80
Akdepe, Turkmenistan – 87
Alamans, as well as Alamannia – 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 32, 33
Alans, Iranian-speaking tribe – 48
Albania – 62, 64
Alboin, king – 4, 13
Ali, Muslim ruler of Sicily – 178
Alps – 11, 19, 34, 134, 155, 165, 183, 185
Altai mountains – 26, 27
Amandus, missionary (= S. Amand of Liège) – 51
Amlash, Iran – 130
Amoghavajra, Buddhist monk – 63
Amory Patrick, historian – 5
Amudarya – 63, 75
Anastasius, monk and scholar – 194
al-Andalus (= Muslim Spain) – 154–157, 167–169
Anglia – 53, 85, 118, 125
Anglo-Saxon(s) – 35–36, 80, 99, 147, 187
angon, Frankish weapon – 20, 22–23
Annals of Northumbria see Northumbria – 80
Anniona, Bavarian clan – 107
Antiochia – 37
Antae, Slav “tribe” – 24
Apophthegmata patrum – 46
Aquitania, France south of the Loire – 59
Arab, Arabic – 25–26, 120, 154, 167
Ardha Viradh, Iranian sage – 82, 85, 86, 87
Arioald, Longobard king – 32
Aristotle, philosopher – 2, 203
Arles, France – 184
Armenia – 87, 88, 110, 120–122
Army, Roman – 6–9
Arnulph, king and emperor – 135, 137
Arnulph, duke of Bavaria – 150, 153
Aschheim, Bavaria – 60
Ashina, Turkish clan – 26, 27, 73
Ashkenaz – 165
Astana, Sin-t’iang province, China – 76
Athens, Greece – 77
Attila, king of the Huns – 25
Atur Gushnasp, Iranian holy fire – 110
Atur Farnbag, Iranian holy fire – 110
Atur Burzen Mihr, Iranian holy fire – 110
Augsburg – 59, 175
Austrasia, Austrasians – 31, 32, 33
Austria – 4, 38, 39, 41
auxilia palatina intra Italiam – 8
Avar, Avars – 16, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 39, 41, 42, 60, 61, 62, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 92
Aventine, a Roman hill – 182
Babylonia – 193
Bacín, Bohemia – 116
Bahar-i Kisra, Sasanian royal carpet – 81, 82
Baga, title – 76, 113, 132
Balalyk-Tepe, site in Turkmenistan – 75
Baltic area – 3, 38, 67, 146, 169, 183
Baltic languages – 3
Baqum, architect – 26
Barcelona, Spain – 176
Basil II, Byzantine emperor – 145
Bathilda, queen and abbess – 36
Bavaria, Bavarian, Bavarians – 4, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 35, 41, 59, 61, 69, 70, 92, 106, 107, 137, 144, 147, 153, 195, 199
Bavarian Geographer (= BG = *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*) – 104–105
Beda Venerabilis, author – 35
beg, title – 70
al-Bekri, Muslim geographer – 169

- Belgium – 34, 51
 Belisarius, Byzantine general – 23, 24
 Berbers – 155
 Berengario of Ivrea, marquis – 184–185
 Berlin, Germany – 182
 Beskydy mountains, Moravia – 179
Besunzane, Bohemian “tribe” (?) – 104
 Bezemín, Bohemia – 106
 Bilge-kagan, Turkish prince – 79, 80
 Bílina, Bohemia – 107
 Binford Lewis, archaeologist – 124
 Bishopric of Prague – 137, 157, 170–178
 Blaník mountain, Bohemia – 121
 Bobbio – 49
 Bodensee – 49, 51, 149, 175
 BOHEMI – 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 21,
 77, 103, 104, 109, 113, 114, 119,
 122–123, 135, 157, 205
 Bohnice-Zámka, archaeological site in
 Prague – 18, 42
 Bohukhval, personal name – 56
 Bohuslavice, Moravia – 37
 Boleslav, site (present-day Stará
 Boleslav) – 157–158
 Boleslav I, Bohemian duke – 147,
 157–177, 201
 Boleslav II, Bohemian duke – 147, 157,
 160, 176–194
 Boleslav III., Bohemian duke – 179,
 194–197
 Boleslav the Valiant, Polish king – 183,
 195–197, 199
 Boraq or Buraq, mythical creature – 85
 Bordeaux, France – 169
 Borrell, count of Catalonia – 176
 Bořivoj I, duke of Bohemia – 111, 123,
 135, 137, 140–142
 Bougo, name or title – 112, 131, 141
 Božena, mother of Břetislav, duke of
 Bohemia – 198
 Braga, Portugal – 45, 46, 47
 Brandenburg, Germany – 160, 170, 174
 Bratohna, personal name – 173
 Breslau see Wrocław
 Britain (Great) – 35
 British Channel (Canal La Manche) – 36
 Britons (see also England, Britain) – 50
 Brittany – 152
 Brukal, nickname – 56
 Brukalice (= *Brucalizi*), Poland – 56
 Brumpt, Alsace, France – 177
 Brutus, Roman hero – 7
 Břeclav, Moravia – 38
 Břetislav I, duke of Bohemia – 198–204
 Břevnov, abbey by Prague – 194
 Buddhism – 64, 122
 Bug, river – 177
 Buga, mythic ancestor or ancestress – 76,
 132
 Bukhara – 27, 43
 Bulgaria, Bulgarians (including Proto-
 Bulgarians) – 3, 42, 43, 48, 61, 142,
 145, 165, 172
 Burgunds (Burgundians), Burgundy – 12,
 35, 184
 Butovice, Bohemia – 105
 Byblos, biblical site – 165
 Býčí-Skála, cave in the Moravian
 Karst – 40
 Byelorussia – 3
 Byzantium, Byzantine – 25, 27, 29, 34, 37,
 38, 42, 43, 48, 64, 65, 72, 77, 79, 86, 92,
 96, 97, 142, 145–146, 163
 Cairo, Egypt – 165
 Caliphate – 43, 61, 62
 Callieri, Pierfrancesco – 86
 Cap Colonne, battle site in Italy – 178
 Caranta, Carantania, Austria – 11, 79,
 103
 Carinthia, Carantanians – 11, 103,
 119–120
 Carnburg, Slovenia see Krnski Grad
 Carolingians – 118, 166, 185
 Carpathian mountains – 3, 4, 29, 38, 61,
 78, 79
 Carthage – 37
 Catalonia – 167, 176
 Catania, Sicily, Italy – 37
 Caucasus mountains – 43, 65, 77, 90,
 121–122, 145, 163
 Celts, Celtic – 32, 39, 42
 Celtic languages – 3
 Charlemagne – 30, 57, 68, 80, 99, 107,
 133, 184
 Charles, duke of Lorraine – 185–186
 Charváti see Croats
 Chelles, France – 36
 China – 3, 26, 27, 63, 73, 113, 122,
 131–132, 147
 Chinvat bridge, a mythical entity of
 Iranian Mazdaism – 86
 Chlístovice-SiÓN, Bohemia – 106
 Chlothar see Lothaire
 Choresm see Khoresm
 Christianity – 8, 69, 71, 85, 90, 92, 99,
 101, 106, 111, 114, 115, 117, 120, 123,
 133–135, 137–138, 140–143, 148–149,
 151, 159–160, 166–167, 170, 173,
 176, 180, 183, 193–194, 202, 205

- Christianus*, author and text – 13, 15, 151–152, 172
 Chrudim, Bohemia – 196
 Cimburk, Bohemia – 106
Cinu (= Czechs?) – 104
 Clovis (Chlodowech) II, Merovingian king – 36
Codex Wittekindeus – 182
Columna mundi – 111, 112, 114, 123
comitia intra Africam – 8
 Compiègne, France – 189
 Concordia, Veneto, Italy – 9
 Conrad II., emperor – 198–199
 Constans II, Byzantine emperor – 37
 Constantine I the Great, Roman emperor – 13, 14, 15
 Constantine IX Porphyrogennitus, Byzantine emperor – 76, 132
 Constantinople, Byzantium – 25, 29, 32, 37, 42, 145, 163, 194
 Cordoba, Spain – 155–156, 161, 163–165, 167, 169
 Corvey (Corbeia Nova), Saxony – 176
 Cosmas the Chronicler – 12, 14, 109, 157–158, 186, 202
 Cremona, Italy – 16, 144
 Cres, Croatian island – 173
 Crimean peninsula – 63, 65
 Croats (= Charváti), Slav “tribe”, Croatia – 76, 78, 80, 102, 105, 113, 122, 132, 173
 Crocaenum, Lacedaimon, Greece – 61
 Crocus see Krok
 Crodobert, Alamannian duke – 32
 Ctesiphon, Sasanian capital – 80
 Curta Florin, historian and archaeologist – 173

 Čáslav, Bohemia – 6, 106, 130–131
 Čelákovice, Bohemia – 61
 Čestibor, prince – 107
 Češov, Bohemia – 106

 Dacians – 3
 Dagobert, Merovingian king – 32, 33, 34, 35, 49
 Daleminci, Slav “tribe” – 153–154, 156
 Dalimil, chronicle-writer – 150
 Dalmatia – 48, 78, 79, 93, 132
 Dalton George, ethnologist – 128
 Danube, Danubia – 3, 29, 38, 39, 43, 44, 51, 59, 60, 69, 78, 79, 91, 97, 104, 143–145, 179, 207
 Dargoslav, *arkhon* – 77
 Daryaeae Touraj – 88, 110, 111

 Datians, eastern “tribe”(?) – 47, 48
De administrando imperio – 76, 132
Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii see Bavarian Geographer
 Děčané, Bohemian “tribe” – 103
Dědici, a social group – 125
 Dietrich von Haldersleben, margrave – 118
 Dijon, France – 186
 Dioclea (Dukla), Bosnia-Herzegovina – 103
 Dobrava see Doubravka
 Dolní-Dunajovice, Moravia – 72
 Dome on the Rock, Jerusalem, see Qubbat as-Sakhra
dominus terrae – 180–181
 Dorestad, The Netherlands – 66, 67, 95
 Doubravčice, Bohemia – 105
 Doubravka (Dobrava), duchess of Poland – 170, 179
 Doudlebi, Bohemian “tribe” – 78, 80, 102, 105, 113, 122
 Dragais – 97
 Dragomir (= Drahomíra), Bohemian duchess – 118, 148–151, 159
 Drogo, archbishop of Metz – 99, 133–134
 Drozza, Bavarian clan – 107
Družina (= entourage or retinue of Slav princes) – 73
 Duklané, Slav “tribe” – 103
 Dumium, Portugal – 46, 47
Dux Panoniae primae et Norici ripensis – 8
dux Thebaides – 8
 Dyje (= Thaya) river, Moravia – 38, 91, 200

 Eadith, Anglo-Saxon princess and queen of Germany – 174
 Easter – 151
 Eboracum (= York), Great Britain – 13
 Ebro, river in Spain – 167
 Egypt, Egyptians – 33, 46, 60, 92
 Einsiedeln, Switzerland – 175
 Ekkehard, margrave of Meissen – 195
 Elbe river see Labe
 Emma, queen of France, duchess of Bohemia – 184–192, 196
 En-Dor, Old Testament site – 15
 Engilhard, archbishop of Magdeburg – 182
equites Marcomanni – 8
 Erkenbald, archbishop – 177
 Ermold the Black, author – 99

- Ethelred the Unready, Anglo-Saxon king – 147, 187
 Ethiopia – 25
 Ethnicity – 1–2
- Fagana, Bavarian clan – 107
 Fécamp, France – 185
 Fleury (= Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire), France – 183
 Finland – 5
Fraganeo – 104
 France – 34, 169, 184–186, 189–190, 192
 Franconia, Franks, Frankish – 10, 12, 18, 19, 20, 23, 31, 32, 33, 35, 41, 70, 80, 106, 107, 144, 162, 169, 185
 Franz Josef I, emperor of Austria – 184
 Frauenwörth abbey, Bavaria, Germany – 60
 Fredegar – 30, 31, 33, 35
 Frederick I Barbarossa, emperor – 166
 Freising, Bavaria – 58, 204
 Frisians – 65–67, 94, 102
 Fritigil, queen – 7
 Fulda, Germany – 169, 182
- Gambara, mythical ancestress – 13, 15
 Garibald, Bavarian duke – 11, 35
 Gascony, France – 169
 Gaul, Gaulish – 32, 38, 47, 50
 Gawibald, Bavarian bishop – 60
ha-Gebalim, European nation – 163, 165
 Gellona Sacramentary, manuscript – 59, 130
 Gepid, Gepids – 4, 29, 48
 Gerbert of Aurillac (= pope Sylvester II) – 176, 178, 181
 Gerbirg, queen of France – 185
 Germania – 29
 Germanic languages – 3, 18
 Germany – 143, 149, 175, 178–179, 199
 Glomači, Slav “tribe” – 117
 Gniezno, Poland – 158, 181, 183, 201–203
Gombiky, Slav dress accessory – 129, 135
 Gothan’s codex – 68
 Gothic (= language, -s) – 3, 11
 Goths – 4, 9, 12, 19, 23, 24, 35, 48
 Grabelsdorf, Austria – 79
 Great Laba river, Russia – 121
 Greece, Greek, Greeks – 3, 33, 41, 46, 52, 61, 62, 64, 77, 79, 96, 97, 162, 167
 Gregory of Tours, chronicle-writer – 46, 47
 Grody Czerwińskie, Poland – 162
- Gudleik Gerzki, Scandinavian merchant – 146–147
 Gumpold, bishop of Mantua, Italy – 187–189
 Gundila, estate holder – 23, 24
 Guyuan site, China – 63
 Gyselen, Rika, author – 86
- Hachilinga, Bavarian clan – 107
 Hajdúdorog, Hungary – 129
 al-Hakam, caliph of al-Andalus – 155
 Harald Klak, Danish prince – 99
 Harun ar-Rashid, caliph – 57, 81
 Hasday ibn Shaprut, scholar and diplomat – 162–165, 167
 Hatto, archbishop and abbot – 144, 149
 Havelberg, bishopric – 174
 Havolani see Stodorani
 Hebrew – 65, 167, 171
 Hedeby (Haithabu), Germany – 61, 169
 Henry I Fowler, king of Saxony – 152–154, 156, 159, 174
 Henry II, emperor – 135, 195–197
 Henry IV, emperor – 166, 177
 Henry the Quarrelsome, Bavarian duke – 178, 195
 Henry of Schweinfurth, marquis of Nordgau, Bavaria – 195
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor – 37, 43, 76
 Heruli, Germanic “tribe” – 9, 48
 Hevlín, Moravia – 91
 al-Himyari, Muslim geographer – 169
 Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, France – 189
hippokampos, mythic creature – 91
 Holovously, Bohemia – 106
 Homer, poet – 92
Hospodine, pomiluj ny, religious hymn – 88, 89, 115
 Hostivít, mythical prince – 141
 Hradsko-Kanina, Bohemia – 116
 Hryzely, Bohemia – 105
 Hugh Capet, king of France – 186
 Hugh of Arles, king of Italy – 184
humihir pahlom (Middle Persian = “peace is best”) – 88, 89
 Hungary – 3, 29, 30, 46, 60, 65, 113, 115, 149, 156, 175, 177, 179, 192, 199
 Hungarians – 145, 151–154, 160, 162, 165, 167, 201
 Huns – 9, 24, 25
 Huosi, Bavarian clan – 107
 Hurghada, Egypt – 60

- Iberian Peninsula – 46
 Ibn Idari, Muslim historian – 155
 Ibn Hayyan, Muslim historian – 155
 Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub, Andalusian traveller – 144, 147, 166–170
 Ignatios – 97
 Illyricum, Roman province – 48
 India – 36, 132
 Indra, Indo-Iranian god – 111
 Ioakin – 97
 Iran – 31, 44, 59, 63, 74, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 87, 88, 90, 91, 101, 110, 113, 121, 129, 132, 145
 Iranian languages – 3, 76, 78, 79, 88, 113
 Ireland, Irish – 15, 32, 49–50, 61
 Isara river, Bavaria – 60
 Italy – 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 23, 24, 49, 68, 95, 96, 97, 144, 178, 184–185, 189, 194
 Itil, Khazaria – 78
 Ivanov Vyacheslav, linguist – 133
 Ivrea, Italy – 184–185

al-Jabal, Muslim treasure – 81
 Jacobite Christians – 142
 Jaromír, duke of Bohemia – 179, 194–197, 199–200
 Jerusalem – 82, 85, 163
 Jeseníky mountains, Moravia – 179
 Jesus Christ – 8, 49, 51, 90, 91, 101, 134, 143
 Jews – 33, 53, 62, 145, 163–166, 170–171, 173, 193–194
 Jingiz Khan (Temüdjin) – 73
 John XIII, pope – 172, 175–176
 John XVI, anti-pope – 190
 John Philagathos – 190–191
 John, abbot of Gorze – 167
 Jonas of Bobbio – 49
 Joseph, Khazarian kagan – 165
 Jove (Jupiter), Roman god – 52
 Judith of Schweinfurth, consort of Břetislav I – 198
 Junna, personal name – 173
 Juno, Roman goddess – 52
 Justinian, Byzantine emperor – 23, 24, 27, 29
 Jutland (Jylland) peninsula, Denmark – 169

 Kaaba shrine, Mecca, Saudi Arabia – 26
 Kal, Bohemia – 84, 87, 106
 Kalbid dynasty, Muslim Sicily – 178
 Kama river, Russia – 62
 Kandert Josef, ethnologist – 103

 Kant Immanuel, philosopher – 203
 Karakorum mountains – 65
Katun, title – 76
 Kazan', see Staraya-Kazan'
 Kazi, mythical ancestress – 13, 14
 Kelč, Moravia – 146
 Kenaan, biblical region – 165
 Kermanshah, Iran – 28
 Khazaria, Khazarians – 43, 60, 65, 77, 130, 163–165
 Khorezm – 65
 Khusrau II Aparviz, Sasanian king – 28
 Kiev, Ukraine – 10, 145
 Kiev leaves, manuscript – 172
 Klecany, Bohemia – 126, 140–141
 Klučov, Bohemia – 105
 Kolín-nad-Labem, Bohemia – 98, 99, 100, 106, 133–135, 138
 Komárno-Lodenice, Slovakia – 91
 Košnar Lubomír, archaeologist – 38
 Kounice, Bohemia – 106
 Kouřim (or Stará Kouřim), Bohemia – 98, 101, 115–118, 135, 145, 151, 196
 Kožlí, Bohemia – 43
 Krkonoše (= Riesengebirge) mountains – 78, 179
 Krnski grad (= Carnburg), Slovenia – 119
 Krok (= Crocus), mythic prince – 13, 14, 15
 Křesina, husband(?) of Božena – 198
 Kuban' river, Russia – 122
 Kutná Hora (= Kuttenberg) – 106, 147
 Kuvrat, kagan – 42, 43

 Labe (= Elbe) river – 79, 117, 144, 146, 153, 169, 179, 198
 Lago di Garda, lake in Italy – 184–185
 Lahovice, Bohemia – 139–140
 La Manche see British Channel
 Lantpert, Bavarian prince – 59
 Laon, France – 186, 189
 Larissa, Thessaly, Greece – 61
 Lech river, Bavaria – 160, 162, 173
 Leinster, Ireland – 49
 Lemuzi, Bohemian "tribe" – 102, 105, 122
 Leo VII, pope – 173
 Leon – 97
 Lethingi or Lithingi, Longobard dynasty – 13
 Levý-Hradec, Bohemia – 140–141, 182
Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Romanae, manuscript – 71

- Libice-nad-Cidlinou, Bohemia – 129, 180–181, 184
 Libuše, mythic ancestress and seeress – 12, 13, 14, 15
 Libušinka,
 spring at Kouřim, Bohemia – 116–117
 Liège (= Luik, Lüttich), Belgium – 183
 Limigantes, Sarmatian “tribe” – 10
 Little, Charles T. – 189
Liubusua, site in Lower Lusatia – 153
 Liutici (= Veleti), Slav “tribal”
 confederation – 117–119, 148
 Liutprand of Cremona, chronicle-
 writer – 144
 Loire river, France – 59
 Lombardy, Italy – 67, 68
 Longobards (= Winnils) – 4, 5, 9, 10,
 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 29, 32, 34, 35, 67,
 68, 69, 70
 Lothaire (= Khlotakhar), Merovingian
 king – 11, 35
 Lothaire IV, king of France – 185, 189
 Lothario of Arles, king of Italy – 184
 Louis IV d’Outremer, king of
 France – 185
 Louis V, king of France – 185–186, 189
 Louis the German, East Frankish
 king – 99, 134
 Louis the Pious, emperor – 99, 134
 Lübke Christian, archaeologist – 117
 Ludmila, duchess, see S. Ludmila
 Lucrecius, archbishop of Braga,
 Portugal – 46
 Lumbe-garden cemetery at Prague
 Castle – 126–128
Lupiglaa, Bohemian “tribe” – 104
 Lusatia, region – 153
 Lutovský Michal, archaeologist – 112, 131
 Lyons, France – 169
 Lysá-nad-Labem, Bohemia – 199
- Mabillon Jean, scholar – 189
 Madina az-Zahra, Spain – 155
 Magdeburg, Saxony, Germany – 168–170,
 173–176, 181–182
magister equitum – 8
magister militum per Orientem – 48
magister peditum – 8
 Mainz am Rhein, Germany – 118, 144,
 149, 169, 173–174, 176, 183
 Malín, Bohemia – 106
 Maniach, envoy – 27
 Manicheism – 64, 88, 110
 Mantua, Italy – 187–189
 Mar Amram – 164–165
 Mar Josef – 164–165
 Mar Saul – 164–165
 Marcomanni, Germanic “tribe” – 7, 8
Marcomanni iuniores – 8
Marcomanni seniores – 8
 Markets and fairs – 27, 35–36, 59–60, 67,
 99, 128, 138, 144, 146, 151, 154–158,
 166, 182, 193–194, 202
 Mars, Roman god – 52
 Marseilles, France – 169
 al-Mas’udi, Muslim geographer – 142,
 145, 161
 Mazdaism – 64, 76, 85, 86, 88, 110
 Mazur lakes, Poland – 38, 39
 Mecca, Saudi Arabia – 26
 Medina, Saudi Arabia – 82
 Meissen, Saxony, Germany – 153, 170,
 174–175, 182, 195
 Mercurius, Roman god – 52
 Merovingians – 18, 19, 22, 23, 32, 35, 36,
 37, 38, 49, 51
 Merseburg, city and region, Saxony,
 Germany – 153, 159, 170, 174
 Mesopotamia – 26
 Methodius, archbishop (see also SS. Cyril
 and Methodius) – 97
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
 U. S. A. – 189
 Metz, France – 31, 99, 133
 Mělník, Bohemia – 116, 160, 186–187,
 191–192, 196
 Mher (= Mithra), mythic hero – 120–121
 Michael, bishop of Regensburg – 173
 Mieszko I, duke of Poland – 170, 179
 Mieszko II, duke of Poland – 197–198
 Mihr (= Mithra, mir) – 55, 88, 89, 110,
 111, 112, 114, 122–123, 152
 Mikoláš Aleš, painter – 40
 Mikulčice, Moravia – 73, 74, 75, 84, 87,
 90, 91, 96, 130
 Milan, Italy – 7
 Militký Jiří, numismatist – 37
 Minerva, Roman goddess – 52
 Mithra, Indo-Iranian god – 82, 84, 87, 88,
 89, 107, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114,
 121–123, 132, 135
Mithrios bunos, Anatolia – 121
 Mlada-Marie,
 daughter of Boleslav I – 175
 Monemvasia, Greece – 77
 Mongolia, Mongol – 3, 26–27, 30, 122
 Mons, Belgium – 33
 Mons Porphyrites, Egypt – 60
 Monte Cassino monastery, Italy –
 182, 194

- Monza, Italy – 68
 Morava river, Serbia – 48
 Moravia, Moravians – 4, 31, 70–77,
 95–98, 104, 107, 127–130,
 133–134, 137, 146, 150, 162,
 172, 177, 179, 196, 198–200
Mosaikaugenperlen – 96
 Moshchevaya Balka (Мощевая Балка),
 archaeological site – 121–122
 Möllenbeck abbey, Germany – 149,
 159, 174
 Muhammad – 26, 85
 Mundo, officer – 48
 Munich see München
Muruj al-dhahab, manuscript by
 al-Mas'udi – 142
 Muslims – 43, 44, 81, 82, 94, 95, 96, 113,
 145–147
 Mušov, Moravia – 68
 München, Bavaria, Germany – 59, 104

 Nagyszentmiklós see Sânnicolau Mare
 Nakon, Slav prince – 169
 Naples, Italy – 182
 Nara, Japan – 64
 Nara, people of unknown origin – 47, 48
 Nation, definition of – 2
 Natronai bar Hillai gaon, Jewish
 scholar – 193
 Near East – 30, 78, 85, 101, 154
 Nemějce, Bohemia – 106
 Nepi, Umbria, Italy – 23, 24
Nereid, mythical sea creature – 91, 92
 Neretvané, Slav “tribe” – 103
 Nestor chronicle (= *Pověst' vremennykh*
 let = Tale of bygone years) – 10
 The Netherlands – 196
 New York, U. S. A. – 189
 Nicomedia, Greece – 37
 Nisa, Parthia – 86
 Niuunburg (= Urbs nova) see “Nový
 Hrad”
 Noe (= Noah), Old Testament
 figure – 52
 Northumbria, Annals of – 80
 Notherius, bishop of Verona – 149
 Notker, bishop of Liège, Belgium – 183
Notitia dignitatum, manuscript – 8, 9
 Novák Vlastimil, numismatist – 61
 Novi Sad, Serbia – 61
 Novotný Václav, historian – 195
 “Nový hrad” (= Urbs nova, Niuunburg),
 Bohemia – 160
 Nuremberg, Germany – 196
 Nymburk, Bohemia – 106

Oasis minor, Egypt – 8
 Obodriti, Slav “tribe” – 159
 ODALRICUS DUX REGNET IN PRAGA
 SANCTA formula – 197
 Odoacer, prince – 4
 Odra river, Moravia and Poland – 144,
 146, 179
 Oghuz Turks – 27
 Ohtrich, scholar – 181
 Oldřich, duke of Bohemia – 179–180,
 195–199
 Oleg, Grand duke of Kiev – 10
 Olomouc, Moravia – 146
 Omar II, caliph – 110
 Opava (= Troppau) region – 146
 Orkhon Turks – 27, 73, 80
 Orso Particiaco, Venetian *doge* – 95
 Ostroměř, Bohemia – 106
 Ostrov (= Insula) abbey, Bohemia – 195
 Otto I, emperor – 118, 159–160, 162,
 167–168, 173–176, 178, 182, 185
 Otto II, emperor – 178, 182, 187,
 189–191
 Otto III, emperor – 47, 134, 178, 183
 Otto, French prince – 189
ouroboros – 8
 Ōn ok, Turkish clan federation (Oghuz
 Turks) – 27
 Ötükän, Mongolia – 79, 80, 122

pagus Senondagus see Senondagus
 Palestine, Palestinians – 33
 Pamir mountains – 76
 Pannonia – 4, 8, 29, 46, 47, 48, 51
 Paris, France – 32, 183, 191, 193
 Particiaco see Orso Particiaco
 Passau, bishopric, Bavaria, Germany – 58,
 92, 204
Pativa, Sasanian royal emblem – 84, 86,
 90, 91, 130
 Paul the Deacon, chronicle-writer – 10,
 15, 16, 68
 Paulicians, sect – 121
 Paulinus, autor – 7
 Pavia, Italy – 184–185
 PAX DUCIS/REGIS IN MANU SANCTI
 WENCEZLAI formula – 110, 113, 115,
 123, 152, 205
 Peloponnese peninsula – 77
 Pereyaslavets see Presthavitza, Romania
 Périn Patrick, archaeologist – 36
 Petrovci, Serbia – 61
phitonissa/pythonissa – 15
 Phocas, Theodorich's secretary – 5
 Pietro IV. Candiano, Venetian *doge* – 95

- Pilsen (= Plzeň), Bohemia – 196
 Poděbrady, Bohemia – 181
 Pohansko by Břeclav, Moravia – 129
 Pohořelice, Moravia – 83, 84, 85
 Poitiers, France – 59
 Poland – 4, 38, 78, 83, 109, 113, 115, 120,
 158, 162, 170, 177, 179, 181, 192,
 196–200
 Polané, Slav “tribe” – 103
 Polanyi Karl, historian and
 ethnologist – 128
 Pontic – 3, 10, 26, 27, 39, 42, 43, 53, 77,
 78, 103, 130, 145
 Pontius Pilate – 53
porfido rosso – 60
porfido verde – 61
 Poštorná by Břeclav, Moravia – 38
 Poznań, Poland – 170, 175
 Prague Castle – 107, 108, 109–111,
 112–115, 119, 122, 126–127, 127–129,
 138, 152, 172, 175–176, 181, 183,
 192, 196
 Prague Glagolitic fragments – 172
 Prague-Malá
 Strana (= Lesser Quarter) – 138
 Prague-Staré Město – 166, 171
 Praha region including Fraganeo – 104,
 105, 106, 107
 Praha-Šárka – 105, 106
 Praha-Zličín, cemetery – 10
 “Pravý-Hradec” (Klecany?) – 140
 Presthlavitza/
 Pereyaslavce, Romania – 145
 Pripjat’ marshes – 3, 4
 Priscus, ambassador – 25
 Profantová Nad’a, archaeologist – 65, 67,
 90, 125
 Prussians – 183–184
 Prušánky, Moravia – 90
 Przemyśl, Poland – 162, 194
 Přemyslids – 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 115,
 118, 123, 140–141, 146–147, 151,
 160–161, 163, 196, 203–205
 Přistoupim, Bohemia – 106
 Přítluky by Břeclav, Moravia – 45
 Pšov see Mělník
- Qadisiya, Iraq – 80
 Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Iran – 84, 88, 110
 al-Qazvini, Muslim geographer – 169
 Quadi, Germanic “tribe” – 8
 Qubbat as-Sakhra, Jerusalem – 82
 Quentovic – 34
 Qureishites – 26
- Radla, scholar – 194
 Radim, son of Slavník, brother of
 S. Vojtěch of Prague – 181, 202
 Raffelstetten, Austria – 143–144
 Rataři (= Redarier), Slav “tribe” –
 117–118, 159
 Ravenna, Italy – 24, 37, 174
 Red Sea – 26
 Redistribution – 138–139
 Regensburg, city, and bishopric of –
 58, 59, 60, 92, 99, 106, 133–135,
 137–138, 147, 152, 170, 172–173,
 175, 196, 204
 Reichenau abbey, Germany – 30, 80, 95,
 97, 144, 149, 195
 Rethra, pagan shrine, see Riedegost
 Rheims, France – 178, 189–190
 Rhine (= Rhein) river, Rhineland,
 Germany – 6, 10, 65, 66, 67, 90, 95, 99,
 101, 102, 126, 143–144, 155, 158, 165,
 169, 173, 175, 177
 Rhône river, France – 34
Riade, battle site – 154
 Riedegost, pagan shrine – 117–119
 Romania – 3, 29, 145
 Rome, Roman, Romans – 3, 23, 24, 25,
 35, 50, 59, 60, 64, 88, 120, 134, 149,
 167–168, 173, 175–176, 178, 182,
 185, 189
 Rouen, France – 169
 Roztoky by Prague, Bohemia – 17, 18, 19,
 20, 21, 22, 37, 42
 Rubín by Podbořany, Bohemia – 74, 106
 Rudolph II., king of Burgundy – 184
 Rugians (Rugii), Germanic “tribe” – 5
 Ruran (= Zhuan-Zhuan), nomad
 grouping – 26
 Russia, Russians – 10, 67, 165
- S. (= Saint) Adalbert of Prague see
 S. Vojtěch
 S. Amand of Liège – 51
 S. Ambrose, bishop of Milan – 7, 8
 S. Benedict – 183
 S. Boniface-Wynfrith – 58
 S. Columban (543–616) – 49
 S. Denis, also abbey by Paris,
 France – 183, 186, 192–193
 S. Emmeram – 59–60, 92, 133, 204
 S. George of, church in Prague
 Castle – 108, 109, 111, 144, 149,
 176, 183–184
 S. Germanus (Germain) of Auxerre – 35
 S. Gregory the Great, pope – 35, 49

- S. Guy (=Vít, including dedication of the third church in Prague castle) – 108, 109, 112, 114, 123, 152, 172, 182
- S. Ludmila, duchess – 142, 144, 150–151, 172
- S. Martin of Braga, Portugal – 4, 45, 46, 47, 51
- S. Martin of Tours, France – 47, 183
- S. Olaf of Norway – 146–147
- S. Pancratius of Taormina – 77
- S. Peter – 50
- S. Radegundis of Poitiers – 46
- S. Sisinnios – 86
- S. Stephen – 24
- S. Vojtěch (= Adalbert), bishop of Prague – 142, 158, 176, 181–184, 194, 201–203
- S. Wenceslas, duke of Bohemia – 111, 114, 115, 118, 123, 142, 147, 149–158, 160–161, 170, 172, 187–189, 197, 201, 207–208
- S. Willibald of Würzburg – 77
- S. Wolfgang., bishop of Regensburg – 175
- SS. Alessio e Bonifazio, abbey in Rome – 182–183
- SS. Cyril and Methodius – 95, 97, 137
- SS. Five Brothers of Poland – 201
- Sady by Uherské-Hradiště, Moravia – 96
- Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire see Fleury, France
- Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France – 36
- Saint-Maur, France – 183
- Saint-Rémi, Rheims, France – 189–190
- Salzburg, bishopric and archbishopric of – 58, 59, 204
- Samarqand, Uzbekistan – 27, 144
- Samo, Frankish merchant – 4, 25, 26, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40
- Samuel, Old Testament figure – 15
- Sănnicolau Mare (once Nagyszentmiklós), Siebenbürgen, Romania – 62, 63
- Sanasar, mythical sword – 120
- Santa Aelia, Umbria, Italy – 24
- Saqaliba, Slav slaves in the Muslim world – 69, 154–157, 168, 193
- Sarmatians – 10
- Saturnus, Roman god – 52
- Saul, Old Testament figure – 15
- Saxon, Saxons, Saxony – 33, 35, 118, 148, 151, 153–154, 159, 168–169, 176, 178, 181
- Scandinavia – 35, 94, 115, 146–147
- Schleswig, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany (see also Hedeby) – 146, 169
- Schwarzwald mountains, Germany – 59
- Schweinfurth, Germany – 198
- Schwenningen site, Germany – 20
- Scлавinia – 77
- Scлавitag* (= Slavitah, = *Slavitěch?) – 107
- Scotland – 120
- Scythians – 9
- Seals – 64, 77, 86–89, 110, 113, 115, 205
- Seine river, France – 183
- Seleucia, Sasanian metropolis – 80
- Seneca Lucius Annaeus, Roman philosopher – 46
- (*pagus*) *Senondagus*, unidentified region in Gaul – 33
- Sens, France – 33
- Serbia, Serbians – 3, 29, 48, 60, 61, 79, 102, 105, 107, 162
- Sergius II, pope – 134
- Seringi, Asian people – 112, 131
- Sesen, protective demon – 82, 86, 87
- Severus, bishop of Prague – 201–203
- Severus, provost of Mělník – 186
- Shi Hedan, interpreter – 64
- Shiraz, Iran – 88
- Shosoin, Todaiji shrine, Nara, Japan – 64
- Sicharius, Dagobert's envoy – 32
- Sicily – 37, 77, 81, 178
- Sidonius Apollinaris, poet – 47
- Sigipald, retainer of the Bavarian duke – 59
- Silesia – 150, 162, 177
- Silk – 27, 58, 59, 60, 64, 72, 97
- Silk Road – 27, 36, 59–60, 65, 97
- Sin-t'iang province, China – 76
- Sión see Chlístovice-Sión
- Sisi* see Žiži
- Sláma Jiří, archaeologist – 161, 163
- Slav, Slavdom, Slavic, Slavonic, Slavinity, Slavs (= Winidi) – 1–2, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 27, 29, 32, 33, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 56, 69, 77, 79, 89, 92, 93, 94, 102, 103, 104, 110, 113, 119, 120, 122, 133, 144–145, 148, 153–154, 161–162, 169–170, 172–173, 181
- Slave trade – 138, 146, 151, 154–158, 166, 182, 193–194
- Slavník, sons of Slavník – 180–181, 184
- Slezané, Bohemian and/or Polish “tribe” – 103
- Slovakia – 4, 29, 30, 38, 39, 58, 91, 149, 162, 179
- Soběslav son of Slavník – 181, 196
- Sogd, Sogdian, Sogdians – 27, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 76, 113

- Soignies, Belgium – 33
 Souček's brick kiln, Kolín-nad-Labem,
 Bohemia – 98
 Spain – 35
 Speyer, Germany – 166
 Split, Dalmatia – 48
 Spytihněv I, duke of Bohemia – 111,
 137–148, 150, 160
 Spytihněv II, duke of Bohemia – 198–199
 Sri Lanka (Ceylon) – 63
 St. Kanzian, Austria – 79
 Staraya-Kazan,
 also Kazan, Tatarstan – 147–148
 Stará-Kouřim see Kouřim
 Staré-Město by Uherské Hradiště,
 Moravia – 95
 Starý-Plzenec by Pilsen, Bohemia – 196
 State, statehood – 29, 107–115, 119–120,
 123–124, 141–142, 160–161, 200–203,
 207–208
 Stodorani-Havolani, Slav “tribe” – 118,
 148, 153, 159, 174
 Strasbourg, Alsace – 177
 Styr river, Byelorussia, Ukraine – 177
 Suebi, Suevoi (= Swabians), Swabia – 12,
 35, 46, 175
 Suhayb ibn Sinan, Muslim
 entrepreneur – 26
 Suchomasty, Bohemia – 116
 Sui dynasty, China – 27
 Sura academy, Babylonia – 193
 Svatopluk, Moravian king – 137
 Svyatoslav Igorevich, Grand duke of
 Kiev – 145
 Symeon – 97
 Syrdarja river – 63
 Syria – 26, 33, 36, 46, 53, 59, 65
 Szegvár, Hungary – 129
- Šárka, Bohemia, see Praha-Šárka
 Šembera river, Bohemia – 105
 Šenturška gora (= Ulrichsberg),
 Slovenia – 119
 Šolle Miloš, archaeologist – 116
- T'ai-zong, emperor – 27
 T'ang dynasty, China – 27
 Tardu, Turkish kagan – 29
 Taq-i Bostan, Iran – 28
 Tatinger Kannen, a kind of Rhenish
 pottery – 67
 Tela, personal name – 173
 Teta, mythical ancestress – 13, 14
 Tetín, Bohemia – 145, 150, 152, 172
- Theodo, Bavarian duke – 59, 204
 Theodorich, (Ostro)goth king – 48
 Theofano, empress – 176, 178, 189,
 191–192
 Thiddag, bishop of Prague – 194–195
 Thietmar, bishop of Prague – 176–177,
 182
 Thietmar of Merseburg, chronicle-
 writer – 117–118, 195
 Thracia – 48
 Thuringia, Thuringians – 33, 159
 Tismice, Bohemia – 105
 Todaiji monastery, Japan – 64
 Tortosa, Spain – 167
 Totila, (Ostro)goth king – 24
 Tours, France – 47, 183
 Trapezunt (= Trapezos, Trabzon),
 Anatolia – 121
tribunus gentis Marcomannorum – 8
tribunus scholae – 13
tributum pacis – 110
 Trier, Germany – 173–175
 Trubachev, Oleg N., linguist – 3, 4
 Třeštík Dušan, historian – 110, 157
 Tugumir, Slav prince – 147–148,
 159–160, 174
 Turfan oasis, China – 76
 Turkestan – 59
 Turkic languages – 65, 70, 72, 76, 78,
 113, 132
 Turkmenistan – 63, 75, 87
 Turks – 26, 27, 29, 42, 43, 70, 73, 74, 77,
 79, 112, 122, 132, 147
 see Oghuz Turks
 see Ön ok
 see Orkhon Turks
 Tuto, bishop of Regensburg – 152, 170
tutuk, title – 70
 Tzalico, officer – 24
- al-Udhri, Muslim geographer – 169
 Uherské-Hradiště, Moravia – 95–96
 Ukraine – 162
 Ukrané (*Vcrani*), Slav “tribe” – 154
 Ulrichsberg mountain, Slovenia, see
 Šenturška Gora
 Umayyad dynasty, caliphate – 61, 110
 Ural mountains, Russia – 27
 Uškaparik, demon – 87
 Uta, daughter of Bavarian duke – 59
 Utrecht, The Netherlands – 196
 Uyghurs, people in Asia – 73, 147
 Uzbekistan – 27, 144
 Únětice, Bohemia – 143

- Vahagn = Verethranga, Indo-Iranian god – 76, 87
 Valun, text of – 173
 Van lake, Anatolia – 120
 Varangians (Varyags) – 10
 Varuna, Indo-Iranian god – 111
 Václav see S. Wenceslas
 Veleti see Liutici
 Venantius Fortunatus, poet – 46
 Venice, Venetia (Veneto) – 93, 94, 95
 Venus, Roman goddess – 52
 Verdun, France – 144, 156, 169
 Verethragna see Vahagn
 Verizane, Bohemian “tribe”(?) – 104
 Verona, Italy – 149, 182
 Via Julia, Roman road in Bavaria – 59
vicarius et missus apostolicus...in totius Germaniae – 173–174
vicarius Galliarum Germaniarumque partibus – 134
vicinus subregulus – 159
 Victoria, Roman goddess – 165–166, 171
 Vigilius, pope – 23, 24
 Virgin Mary (including dedication of a Prague-Castle church) – 77, 108, 111, 138, 143
 Vislané, Slav “tribe” – 103
 Vistula river, Poland – 179
 Vitalis, associate of S. Emmeram – 60
 Vladivoj, duke of Bohemia – 195–196
 Vltava river, Bohemia – 107, 169
 Vogastisburk see *Wogastisburc*
 Volga river, Russia – 27, 78, 130, 145, 147, 163, 165
 Volkold, bishop of Meissen – 182
 Vrap (Vrapi), Albanian site – 62, 64
 Vratislav I, Bohemian duke – 111, 118, 142, 148–151
 Vratislav II, Bohemian duke and king – 112, 131–133
 Vysoké-Tatry mountains, Slovakia – 177
 Wacho, Longobard king – 68
 Walderad, princess – 11, 35
 Wales, Welsh – 15
 Wenceslas, duke of Bohemia, later Saint Wenceslas see S. Wenceslas
 Wenceslas, son of Boleslav II, duke of Bohemia – 179
 Werben, Germany – 198
 Weser river, Germany – 176
 “White Hungarians” – 145
 Widukind, chronicle-writer – 151, 159–160
 Wijk bij Duurstede, The Netherlands – 66
 Wilhelm, archbishop of Mainz – 118, 174
 Willigis, archbishop of Mainz – 177, 183
 Willicus, provost of Prague – 194
 Winnils see Longobards
 Wiprecht of Groitzsch, baron – 112, 131–132
 Witigis, (Ostro)goth king – 23
Wiztrachus dux (= ‘Vyšestrach?') – 107
Wogastisburc (= Vogastisburk), unidentified site – 32, 39
 Wolfenbüttel, Germany – 187–190
 Wolflete, Emmeram’s associate – 60
 Worms, Germany – 166
 Wrocław (= Vratislav, Breslau) in Silesia, Poland – 150
 Würzburg, Germany – 175
 Ya’far as-Saqlabi – 155
 Zabuřany, Bohemia – 107
 Zachlumané, Slav “tribe” – 103
 Zámka see Bohnice-Zámka, Prague
 Zarathustra, founder of Mazdaism – 76
 Závist hill above Zbraslav, Bohemia – 42, 68, 139–140
 Zbraslav (= Königssaal, Aula regia), Bohemia – 139
 Zeitz, bishopric – 170, 174
 Zelnitius’s chape (strap-end mount) (Staré-město by Uherské-Hradiště) – 95
 Zhuan-zhuan see Ruran
Zuarasizi (= ‘Svarožic), pagan deity – 117
 Žatec, Bohemia – 103
 Žatčané, Bohemian “tribe” – 103
 Želénky by Duchcov, Bohemia – 100, 101, 102, 106, 135, 138
 Želovce, Slovakia – 58
 Žinkovy, Bohemia – 129
 Žiži (= Sisi), hillock and cult place on Prague Castle – 108, 109, 112



Figure 01: A page from the *Notitia dignitatum*, a late Roman list of army detachments, command offices and the supporting logistical apparatus of the imperial army. Early fifth-century A. D. The second emblem from the left in the uppermost row belongs to the *Marcomanni* (*L'Or des Princes Barbares* p. 24, fol. 115).



Figure 02: A statue of a warrior dated to 550–577 A. D.. Hebei Regional Museum, China. An authentic depiction of a nomad warrior, evoking the appearance of the Avars as they came to eastern Europe (Hebei, Pl. 56).



Figure 03: The so-called Dagobert's throne, a Roman seat of office (*sella curullis*) with ninth-century additions (Périn-Feffer 1985, 81, Pl. 2).



Figure 04: A saddle-cloth showing a pheasant with a Sasanian royal ribbon (*pativa*) around its neck. Central Asia, most probably Sogd, eighth or ninth-century. Eastern motifs probably came to Bohemia and Moravia by means of such carriers (Otavsky 1998, 16 Abb. 2).

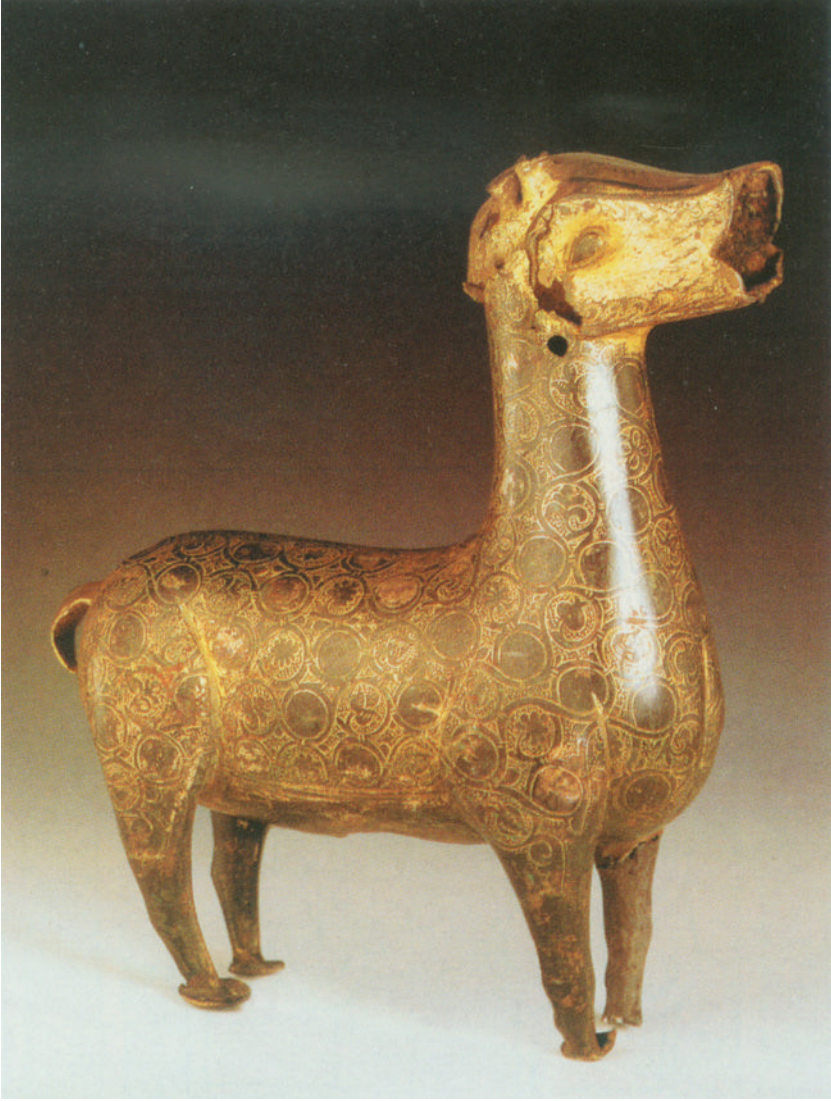


Figure 05: A hind-shaped luxury vessel for hand-washing (aquamanile). Muslim Cordoba, tenth-century. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid Inv. No. 51856.

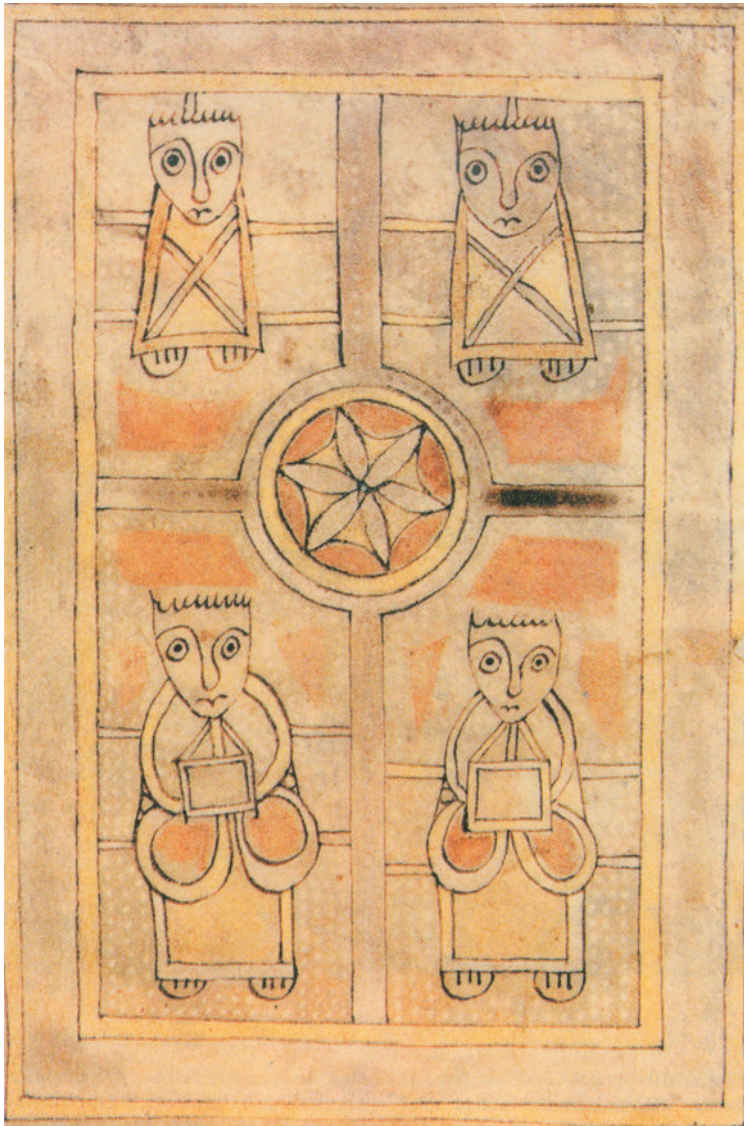


Figure 06: The title page of St. Matthew's Gospel, most probably showing the four evangelists. Book of Deer, tenth to twelfth-century. Originally in the library of John Moore, bishop of Ely (+1714). Purchased and donated to Cambridge University by King George I. Cambridge University Library, MS. Ii.6.32, fol. 1v. We must not forget that the exquisite medieval manuscripts being exhibited throughout Europe were by no means the only products of early medieval scribal art. It may be that many a newly converted European Christian took advice and counsel from books of this character.

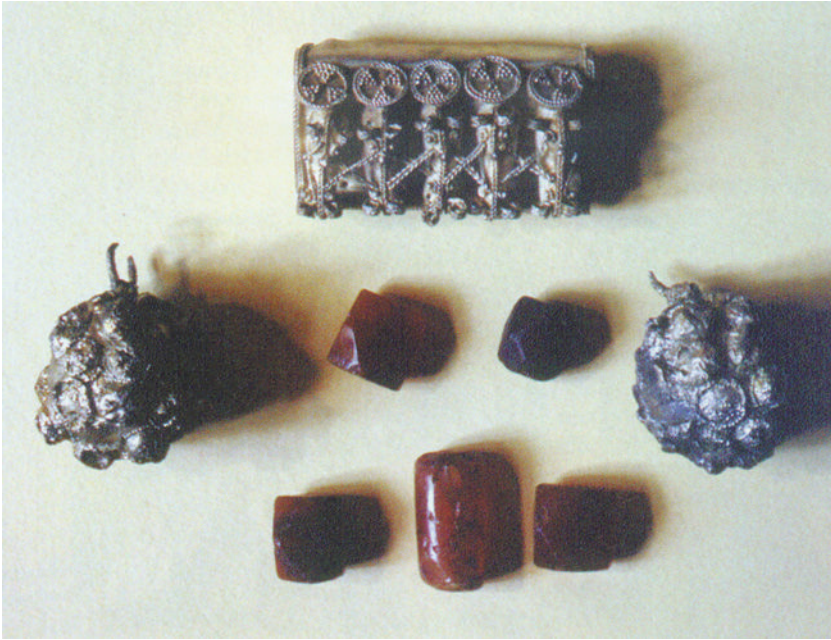


Figure 07: A set of jewelry found in one of the richest interments at Libice-nad-Cidlinou, Bohemia. Church cemetery, before 1050, probably tenth-century. Spherical silver buttons (*gombíky*) with granulation crosses and a kaptorga locket decorated with horse figures, all with granulated patterns, are accompanied by amber and carnelian beads.



Figure 08: St. Helen's crypt in the Church of Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem. After a 1839 lithography by David Roberts. From the tenth-century, the holy city of Jerusalem, where Jesus Christ lived and taught during his earthly life, was a center of pilgrimage for many European Christians, including Bohemians from at least the eleventh-century.